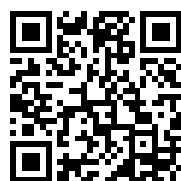

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SOME ENGLISH AND OLD FRENCH PHRASES

BY E. S. SHELDON

In the following few notes, merely specimens of a kind of investigation which should be useful for the history of our language, I have meant to give some illustrations of certain common English phrases, without, however, intending to assert that they come from the French. For some of them that origin is more probable than for others. In general I do not mean to include proverbs in such studies, though two or three such have been for special reasons mentioned below. Yet proverbs also may have a foreign origin, and such origin can perhaps be definitely established in some cases.

1. *As good as*; for instance in "he is as good as dead," which signifies equivalence, not approximation. It is really a comparison; in this example a comparison of the present condition of a man with that of a dead man, and the words say that the one state is as good as, *i. e.*, is the full equivalent (under the circumstances) of the other. It does not mean 'he is almost dead.' A man may be sentenced to imprisonment for life, whether justly or unjustly, and a friend of his talking to other friends about some plan which would be greatly helped by the prisoner's active coöperation, might say "he is as good as dead." But these words would not imply that he is near death; on the contrary he may be in good health with the prospect of living for years. Our phrase is defined in the *Oxford Dict.* *s. v.* *good* by "Practically, to all intents and purposes," and the earliest citation for it is of the year 1436.

Now there is an Old French phrase which sometimes has, as I think, the same sense, and which is really a comparison of one state with another, though it does not contain a word like *good*; indeed

it serves often only to make a comparison, to indicate a similarity, like English *as* with a verb following. This phrase is *aussi* (or *ainsi*, *ensi*) *com* (or *comme*, or *que*), literally meaning 'so as.' From a simple comparison, perhaps sometimes through the idea of equivalence for practical purposes, there might indeed develop the meaning 'about,' or 'almost,' and this sense really existed, as in Scheler's edition of the *Poésies de Froissart*, II, p. 351, v. 4: *ensi qu'à prangiere*, 'about noon.' The editor's glossary explains *ensi que* by *environ*, referring to this passage and adding "et souvent."

In the glossary to Froissart's *Chroniques* Scheler's paragraph devoted to *ensi* has for *ensi que* the meaning *comme*, *pour ainsi dire*, *à peu près*, with two examples in both of which I suspect the essential meaning to be like our 'as good as.' In the first of the two the context is such as to make a translation by 'as good as' not well possible. Froissart says that certain persons did not concern themselves about *les prévos et les jurés et les hommes de la ville ensi que noient*, ['like nothing,' 'any more than not at all'], and he goes on (there is only a comma after *noient*): *car la aministracion de totes choses estoit réservée à ceuls desus dis*. The meaning is, then: 'the attention they gave them was as good as (or almost?) nothing.' The negative ("they did not concern themselves") makes the sentence awkward, but the clause that follows, which I have quoted, seems to intimate that the sense Froissart meant to convey was rather 'the attention they gave the *prévos* and the others was as good as nothing (was practically nothing)' than 'the attention . . . was almost nothing.' That is, the *prévos* and the others got no real consideration at all. It seems to me that this is likely to have been the writer's meaning.

In the second example the meaning may be 'almost' or 'as good as,' and I leave the question undecided. But after these two examples the paragraph in the glossary adds: "La formule est parfois renforcée par *priès*," with the example *priès ensi que tout*. These four words certainly mean 'almost all,' but *priès* as a strengthener or emphasizer of *ensi que* in the sense given in the glossary strikes me as strange. *Priès*, modern *près*, means in Old French 'near,' 'nearly,' 'almost,' and the fact that it occurs before our phrase probably indicates that *ensi que* thus accompanied cannot mean *à peu près*, 'about' or 'almost.' That would be like adding to modern *presque* the words *à peu près*, and 'almost about,' 'almost

almost' is a queer thing to say, though I am not ready to assert that it was absolutely impossible in Old French. But 'as good as,' 'the same practically as' does allow a preceding 'almost,' and that accordingly seems preferable.

In the *Zs. f. rom. Philol.*, xxxv, 732, Schultz-Gora has a note on "Afrz. *ausi com (que)* 'fast,'" as to which I have to note that he seems to take 'as good as' and 'almost' as synonyms. Discussing the second example which he gives (. . . *que aussi comme tous sont convertiz*) he says "Es ist klar, dass der Schluss bedeuten muss: 'fast alle sind zum Christentum bekehrt,'" and a few lines below: "Dieselbe Bedeutung 'so gut wie,' 'fast' liegt bei *ausi com* deutlich erkennbar vor" in another example which he quotes. But in all the six passages cited by him for the meaning 'fast' it seems to me that the meaning is equally well or better given by assuming equivalence (for all practical purposes, under the circumstances), and not merely approximation; that is, that the real meaning is 'as good as' and not 'almost.' In one of them, indeed, the phrase is *tout aussi comme nu*, where *tout*, 'quite,' is perfectly natural if the following words are understood as meaning 'as good as naked,' while 'almost' emphasized by *tout* seems rather unlikely. The brief mention of Schultz-Gora's article in *Romania*, XLII, 138, says: "La locution se rencontre en particulier avec *tout*, *tous*, et elle a le sens de 'presque'; autre exemple dans Robert de Clari, XLVI, 3." This may refer to *tout* or *tous* after our phrase.

I add a few other examples: *Le Jeu de la Feuillée*, ed. Langlois in *Les Classiques français du moyen âge*, v. 576: *Car il est aussi ke sour l'eure*; Guillaume de Machaut, *Prise d'Alexandrie*, v. 3535: *Li rois, qui estoit esbahis, Et aussi com tous escahis*; and *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, in *Œuvres de Guill. de Machaut*, ed. Hoepffner, vol. I, v. 795: *S'estoie ensi comme ravis*; Paris et Jeanroy, *Extraits des Chroniqueurs*, p. 229: *et dist ensi que par mau-talent* (from Froissart); Froissart's *Meliador*, v. 11220: *Or sont ensi que rafreschi*. Doubtless a number of other examples could be collected from Froissart's prose. I mention also v. 7698 in Constans's edition of *Le Roman de Troie*: *Ensi come fiz de s'antain*, because *ensi que* there may be translated 'as being'; it expresses identity, and not either equivalence strictly or approximation; cf. *Ivain*, 2435: *Un tel chevalier con je sui* (meaning himself), and Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I (second edition), p. 16.

It is true that there is not very much difference—though the difference is real—in the general sense of some passages where I incline to the meaning ‘as good as,’ but this meaning, I think, increases the effectiveness of certain passages and is to be preferred on that account. It is not to be assumed that the English phrase is a translation of the Old French.

2. *A good time.* In Paris et Jeanroy, *Extraits des Chroniqueurs français*, p. 266, we have *car celui la se tient a Paris et la se donne du bon temps*. Here origin (i. e., translation) from the French looks more plausible; the earliest date for the English phrase in the *Oxford Dict.* is 1666. Still, the interval between this date and the time of Froissart is so great that if the English phrase was taken from French it was apparently not from Old French.

3. *Between brothers*, in reference to a price spoken of by the intending seller of an article as very low; as, “between brothers it’s worth ten dollars.” How old this use is I do not know. There is an interesting passage in Gautier d’Arras, ed. Löseth, vv. 1291-92: *Un cheval . . . Qui bien vaut, pour vendre a sen frere, Deus cenx mars*. Cf. Tobler, *Li Proverbe au vilain*, no. 87, and his note.

4. *Brother-in-law.* As the same phrase occurs in Old French one may conjecture that the English is a translation of the French, where it occurs in *Guillaume de Palerne*, ed. Michelant, v. 8303: *Ami entier et frere en loi*, meaning ‘brother-in-law.’ Also in Godefroy’s *Dict.*, s. v. *loi* in vol. v, I find *Pere en loi* (spelt *loy* in the passage quoted) *de mariage* defined as *beau-père*. This is a much later example; the first one I give belongs early in the thirteenth century and is therefore earlier than the first example of *brother-in-law* in the *Oxford Dict.*, which is dated about 1300.

5. *Hot foot* or *hot-foot* appears from the *Oxford Dict.* to be over six hundred years old in English. It so strikingly resembles the Old French *chalt pas*, *chaut pas*, defined by Godefroy as *aussi-tôt, sur-le-champ*, and by Bédier in his glossary to the *Oxford Folie Tristan* as *rapidement*, that one wonders whether it is not a translation of that phrase, which is very common in the *Quatre Livre des Reis*. But in that case we might rather expect *hot pace*, and further *foot-hot* marked “?Obs.” in the *Oxford Dict.* seems rather to indicate native origin.

6. *Like master, like man*, for which the recognized French is *tel maître tel valet*, has an Old French correspondent of different

form. In English it is given by the *Oxford Dict.* for the year 1548 in the form *lyke men lyke maister*, s. v. *like*, adj. and in that place are also other similar phrases with *like*. Godefroy, s. v. *mesniee* in vol. v, has, from Christine de Pisan, *Selon seigneur mesniee duite*, besides other citations. I may add a Provençal example from N'At de Mons, ed. Bernhardt, poem no. v, v. 244: *Per que dizon las gens: Cal senher tal mainada*, and the same form of the proverb is in Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, v, 1, s. v. *qual*. But there is obviously no occasion to suppose French origin for the English proverb.

7. Much more striking is the resemblance between English and Old French for *the long and (the) short of it*, with the variant *the short and the long of it*, which latter appears from the quotations in the *Oxford Dict.*, s. v. *long*, vol. vi, p. 414, to be the older form, and even this is first listed there for about the year 1500. The Old French form, in which all my references thus far give the word for 'short' first, appears much earlier. Thus, in the *Roman de Troie*, ed. Constans, v. 22544 is *Ço fu toz li briés et li lons*, of which a variant in one MS. is *C'ert tos li cors et tos li lons*, showing the other word for 'short.' In *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. Paris and Robert, vol. i, p. 319, v. 183, occurs *Briefment c'est le court et le lonc*; and Godefroy offers in vol. ix, p. 227 an example of the sixteenth century. In this case a French origin is highly probable. English, it may be observed, has other current sayings with the same meaning; as, *to make a long story short*, *to put the thing in a nutshell*, *in short*, *to sum up*, *the sum and substance is*, etc.

8. *Love me, love my dog*. An example of this proverb, s. v. *love* in the *Oxford Dict.* is dated 1546, but it is doubtless older. In Gautier d'Arras, *Eracle*, ed. Löseth, vv. 1916-17, is the same thought, though not in proverb form (probably then current); *Car puis que sire a chier sen chien Tuit li autre li vuelent bien*; and cf. *Dolop.*, v. 10429; *On sert lo chien por lo signor*.

9. *To make the best of a thing*. Cf. Chrétien de Troyes, *La Charrette (Lancelot)*, v. 1604: *Si an face trestot son miauz*.

10. *Necessity knows (or has) no law*. I mention this only on account of the form with *has*, which is in the *Oxford Dict.*, s. v. *law* (vi, p. 114), with the date 1555, for a passage where it is mentioned as a common saying. Can this form have come from the French? In the *Mistère du Viel Testament*, ed. Rothschild, vol.

I, v. 7352, may be found *Necessité n' a loy aucune* (cf. *Dolop.*, v. 5084: . . . *besoigneus n'a loi*), and for Provençal we read in Bartsch-Koschwitz, *Chrestomathie Provençale* (1903-04), col. 297: *Car dreitz ditz que necessitatz Non a ley, et es veritatz.*

11. *What . . . what*, occurring in Chaucer, for instance, now *what with . . . what with*, meaning 'partly . . . partly' (for examples see the larger dictionaries under *what*, adv.). This really seems to be an imitation of the similar Old French *que . . . que* with the same distributive meaning, which is very frequent. Godefroy, *s. v. que*, vol. VI, has numerous examples, and many more could easily be added. A single one, from the *Roman de Thebes*, ed. Constans, will serve as an illustration, vv. 429-30: *Iluec aveit, mon escient, Que dus, que contes, plus de cent.* Since this *que* in Old French is really the neuter pronoun (see Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, II (second ed.), p. 164, foot-note) the English *what* corresponds to it closely.

12. One cannot tell *which is which*. Cf. *Ipomedon* (written in English), v. 9607; *ne sai quel est quel.*

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THE GLASTONBURY PASSAGES IN THE *PERLESVAUS*

BY WILLIAM A. NITZE

Scholars have been skeptical with reference to an early, twelfth century association of Glastonbury with the Grail Legend, and apparently with good reason. Crestien de Troyes' *Perceval* shows no such connection, and the expression *vaus d'Avoron* used by Robert de Borron (3123, 3221) while identified by Newell (*PMLA.*, XVIII (1903), 510) with Glastonbury and its propaganda is considered by Foerster (*Wörterbuch*, 182*) to have no great importance.¹ The view repeatedly expressed by Baist,² tho never supported by documentary evidence, that both Robert and the *Perlesvaus* go back to a Latin work, which incorporated the *données* of Crestien and changed his *graal* into a Christian relic, and which was written in Glastonbury, has in general found little favor.³ An article, published by me in *Modern Philology*, I (1903), 247 ff., in which evidence is adduced to show the connection of the *Perlesvaus* with Glastonbury material, has scarcely fared better: Foerster admits the connection but affirms that it is late (183*).

Thus, it has seemed to me worth while to republish this evidence in a somewhat more detailed form, and to show—what I failed to show in 1903—its connection with the supposed discovery of the bodies of Arthur and Guenevere, at Glastonbury, in 1191.

The passages in question are as follows:

1. At the end of the romance, we read in the two extant MSS. that are fairly complete:

Li latins ' de coi cist estoires fust traite an romanz fu pris an l'ille d'Avoron

¹ In a note Foerster adds (p. 183*): "Man möchte eine Erklärung herausfinden, dass die *vaus d'Avoron* erst in die zweite Bearbeitung hineingekommen wären, und zwar auf Veranlassung von Glastonbury, wo inzwischen der Josef und vielleicht auch Kristian's Gral bekannt geworden wären." But this is clearly begging the question.

² *Litbl.*, 1892, col. 160, and *ZrP*, XIX (1895), 326 ff.

³ See, however, Suchier, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, 138.

⁴ I follow the printed text of Potvin (without change), but the text of Hatton 82 is substantially the same. The Welsh text and the incunabula of the *Perlesvaus* lack the passage. As for the remaining MSS. they are too fragmentary to make a positive assertion, but the probability is that they ended as above. Cf. Potvin 306.

lon, en une seinte messon de religion qui siet au chief des mores^a aventureuses, là où li roi Artus et la roïne Guenièvre gissent, par le tesmoing de prodomes religieux qui là dedanz sont, qui tote l'estoire en ont, vraie dès le conmanceant trèsqu'à la fin.

2. The *Perlesvaus* records several visits to Avalon. The principal of these is that of Lancelot, Potvin 261:

Il chevauche tant qu'il est venuz . . . à une grant valée où il avoit forest d'une part et d'autre, et duroit la valée .x. grantz lyeues galesches. Il esgarde à destre desus la monteigne de la valée et voit une chapele novelemant feste, qui mout estoit bele et riche, si estoit couverte de plonc et avoit par derrière .ii. coinz qui sanbloient estre d'or. Dejuste cele chapele, avoit .iii. messons moult richement herbergiées, et estoit chascune par soi et ainz [tenant]^a la chapele. Il avoit moult biau cimetire a la chapele anviron, qui clos estoit à la ronde de la forest, et descendoit une fonteine, moult clère, de la hautece de la forest, par devant la chapele, et coroit an la valée par grant ravine; et chascune des messons avoit son vergier, et li vergier son clos. Lancelot of vespres chanter à la chapele, il vit .i. santier qui cele part tornoit; mes la monteigne estoit si roiste que il n'i pot mie aler à cheval, ainz descendi, si le trest par la rène après lui tant qu'il vint près de la chapele.

Here he meets three hermits, who tell him that the place is Avalon. The chapel is richly decorated in the interior and contains two tombs. When Lancelot asks whose they are, he is told:

Por le roi Artus et por la réine Guenièvre—Ja n'est mie morz li rois Artus, feit Lanceloz—Nennil, sire, se Dex plect; mès li cors de la réine gist an cest sarquex devers nos, et an l'autre est li chiés son fill, trèsqu'à icele hore que li rois soit finiz . . . mès la réine dist à la mort que l'an méist le cors dejuste le suen quant il fineroit. De ce avons-nos les lestres et son sèel en ceste chapele, et cest leu fist-ele renoverer an tel manière ançois que ele morust.^a

Lancelot prays all night in the chapel, in front of one of the images of Our Lady, and returns the next day to Cardoil.

3. A visit of Arthur to Guenevere's tomb is briefly told in Potvin 270:

Li rois Artus et misires Gauvains ont tant chevauchié qu'il sont venuz en l'ile de Avalon, la où la roïne gist . . . Mès vos poez bien dire que li rois ne fust mie joieus, quant il vit le sarquex où la réine gissoit et celui où li chief de son fiuz gissoit; adonc renovela ses deus, et dist que cest

^a Hatton 82 reads *mares*, which is probably the correct reading.

^a Hatton 82 reads *si joignoient*.

^a In the Welsh text, *Y Seint Greal*, I, 679, the chapel is on "a small round mountain."

seint leu de cele seinte chapele doit-il plus amer que touz les autres de sa terre.

It was Arthur himself, however, who caused the "head" of his son, Lohoh[1]t, to be placed in Avalon, Pot. 222:

Mes, ainçois que li rois s'an partist, fist-il le chief porter en l'ille de [A]Valon, en une chapele qui estoit de Nostre Dame, où il avoit un seint hermite preudome qui mout estoit bien de Nostre Seignor.

From the above accounts we see: (1) that the *Perlesvaus* claims to be derived from a Latin work in the Island of Avalon, in a house of religion situate at the head of the adventurous moors. (2) The place is described as located in a large valley, on either side of which there are forests. (3) Here Arthur and Guenevere lie buried, in a Lady Chapel, placed on a hill, so steep that Lancelot's horse cannot climb it. (4) The chapel, recently renovated at the instigation of Guenevere, is venerated by Arthur more than all the others of his land. (5) Close to it is a cemetery and various foundations, including gardens or orchards. There can be no doubt that the author had a very definite locality in mind, and that this locality is Glastonbury.

In the presumably revised text of William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, p. 17,⁷ we read:

Haec itaque insula primo Yniswitrin, a Britonibus dicta, demum ab Anglis, terram sibi subjugantibus, interpretato priore vocabulo, dicta est sua lingua Glastinbiry; vel de Glasteing, de quo praemisimus. Etiam insula Avallonia[e] celebriter nominatur, cujus vocabuli haec fuit origo— and there follows the well-known etymology.

Giraldus Cambrensis, having occasion to paraphrase this passage, *De princ. instruct.* VIII, 128,⁸ writes:

Quae nunc autem Glastonia dicitur, antiquitus Avallonia dicebatur. Est enim quasi insula tota paludibus obsita; unde dicta est Inis Avallon, id est, insula pomifera. Pomis enim, quod *aval* Britannica lingua dicuntur. locus ille quodam abundabat.

Moreover, in the *Gesta Pontificum*, 196, William states:

Glastonia est villa in quodam recessu palustri posita;

⁷ The text is quoted after Newell since Hearne's edition is inaccessible to me. But I have verified the quotations I give in Migne, *Patrologia*, II, 179, 1682 ff. Cf. Lot, *Romania*, xxvii (1898), 530 ff., and Newell, *l. c.*

⁸ The passage is from Giraldus' first book of this work; see ed. Warner, *Rolls Series*, 1891.

and in another passage, pp. 5-7, of the *De Antiquitate* reference is made to Glastonbury as

quandam insulam silvis, rubis, atque paludibus circumdatam.*

So that, not only is the identification of Avalon with Glastonbury established for the close of the twelfth century but the situation of Avalon in a swampy or marshy country—our *mores aventureuses*—is also well-known. In addition, the descriptions of the place fit in with the *forest* and the *vergier* of passage [2] in our text.

Coming now to the specific Arthurian material, the *De Antiquitate*, pp. 42-44, states that the bodies of Arthur and his queen lie between two pyramids in the cemetery of the monks:

Quantum vero Galastoniae ecclesia fuerit etiam primatibus patriae venerabilis, ut ibi potissimum sub protectione Dei genetricis operirentur diem resurrectionis, multa sunt iudicio quibus pro cautela fastidii, abstineo. Praetermitto de Arturo, inclito rege Britonum, in cimiterio monachorum inter duas pyramides cum sua conjuge tumulato, de multis etiam Britonum principibus.

Newell, *l. c.* argues plausibly that the last sentence belongs to the "recast" and not to the *De Antiquitate* proper. Since the recast of the *De Antiquitate* was certainly made before the year 1200, this problem does not concern us here. Suffice it to note that Newell thinks (p. 510) that the revision was accomplished in the very year of Arthur's supposed disinterment. The date of this event is 1191, as related in the *Chronica Majora*¹⁰ and in Giraldus Cambrensis. The latter, who gives the more interesting account, and who writes as an eye-witness, says, *op. cit.* 126:

Arthuri quoque Britonum regis inclyti memoria est non supprimenda, quem monasterii Glastoniensis egregii, cuius et ipse patronus suis diebus fuerat praecipuus et largitor ac sublevator magnificus, historiae multum extollunt. Prae cunctis enim ecclesiis regni sui sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae Glastoniensem ecclesiam plus dilexit et prae caeteris longe majori devotione promovit. . . . Hujus autem corpus, quod quasi phantasticum in fine. . . . his nostris diebus apud Glastoniam inter lapideas pyramides duas, in coemiterio sacro quondam erectas, profundius in terra quereu concava reconditum, et signatum miris indiciis et quasi miraculosis, est inventum, et in ecclesiam cum honore translatum marmoreoque decenter tumulo commendatum. Unde et crux plumbea lapide supposito, non

* See, also, the passage quoted by Lot, *op. cit.* 537.

¹⁰ See Newell, *op. cit.* 505, note.

superius ut [nostris] solet diebus, [sed] inferiori potius ex parte infixā, quam nos quoque vidimus, namque tractavimus litteras has *inacultas* et non eminentes et exstantes, sed magis *interius* ad lapidem versas, continebat: "Hic *jacet sepultus* rex Arthurus cum Wennewereia vxore sua *secunda* in insula Auallonia."

Giraldus makes the further statement that the find came as the result of a long search on the part of abbot Henry, who was guided by documents, by semi-legible letters on the pyramids, and by the vision of monks. Here, then, we have a definite statement that the bodies of Arthur and Guenevere, after being found in the cemetery at Glastonbury, were transferred to the Church of St. Mary, which Arthur loved beyond all others. The significance of this statement for the *Perlesvaus* "saute aux yeux."

In the twelfth century, Glastonbury possessed three churches: that of St. Mary, the oldest, which was rich in relics, and of which William, in the *Gesta Regum*, 37, said:

Sicut in regno Britanniae est prima, et fons et origo totius religionis, ita et ipsa supereminentem privilegii obtineat dignitatem:

that of the Apostles Peter and Paul which adjoined St. Mary's and was much larger; and that of St. Michael de Torre, a dependent church, which stood on a height now called the Tor, outside of Glastonbury. In 1184 a terrible fire destroyed all the buildings of the monastery, except a camera and a bell-tower. Henry II entrusted the work of reconstruction to his chamberlain Radulf. The Church of St. Mary was rebuilt first in its former dimensions and position, but it was now connected with the larger church in the manner of a lady-chapel. In order to provide for the adornment of the new building, relics of the great Glastonbury saints were exhumed from the pavement and deposited in shrines. The rededication occurred in 1186. The Church of SS. Peter and Paul, however, was not finished until the fourteenth century; for in 1189 Henry II died, and owing to a quarrel between the monks and the new abbot the work on it languished, in spite of the usual resort to indulgences and the exhibition of relics by travelling monks. As said above, it was in 1191 that the bodies of Arthur and Guenevere were exhumed and deposited in the newly rebuilt Lady Chapel.

Thus, what can be clearer than that the author of the *Perlesvaus* in his account of the tombs of Arthur and Guenevere in the Lady Chapel of Avalon, which, he says, Arthur "loved more than all the

others of his land," is referring to the event recorded for 1191? To be sure, the Church of St. Mary was not situated on the Tor, and it would seem that the eminence which Lancelot mounts is indeed this hill, inasmuch as it is in many respects the most distinctive feature on the Glastonbury landscape [see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1], and one certain to strike the visitor's eye. But we must not demand too great accuracy from the writer of a romance; and where there are so many striking agreements this single departure from the truth is of no great importance. St. Mary's was the Glastonbury church, *par excellence*, our author mentions no other by name, it is thus not strange that he should place this church in the most prominent place of the scene he is describing.

As for the subsidiary traces of Glastonbury influence in our work, the reference to Josephus as the author of the Latin original is possibly one. Certainly another is the use of the name *Glais* for the grandfather of Perceval, the father of Alain li gros and his eleven brothers; cf., in the undoubtedly authentic portion of the *De Antiquitate*, the mention of *Glast*, the eponymic founder of the place, and his twelve brothers (really his descendants). I still think that Pelles is the Welsh *Pwyll*, as Loholt¹¹ is certainly the Welsh *Llacheu*, and Pannenoisance is probably *Penzance*—altho Professor Bruce has a different explanation of Pelles, based on the Grail-Lancelot Cycle, an explanation which is to appear shortly. On all these points I refer the reader to my previous study [*MP* 1 (1903)] and to an article, about to be published, on the dating of the *Perlesvaus*. I may anticipate the latter in so far as to say that the date of the original—whether Latin or not, I am not prepared to state¹²—was composed close to 1200¹³; for in the light

¹¹ Crestien mentions the name once, in *Erec*, 1732.

¹² In my dissertation, *The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902, p. 101, note, I expressed the view that the Latin original is a fiction. In *MP*, 1, 257, I reversed this opinion. On the whole, I am now inclined to think my first view correct. But certainty in such a matter is not possible; and much can be said in favor of Baist's hypothesis, see *MP*, XIII (1916), 185 ff. and Suchier, *op. cit.*, 138. If Robert, as Baist and Suchier both seem to think, used a Latin Grail-book, then the *vaus d'Avallon* of Robert and the *grant valée* of the *Perlesvaus* might be derived from this source. In any case, the last sentence of my article in *MP*, 1, should be corrected.

¹³ This date does, of course, not hold for the Brussels ms. of the French

of the facts given above it seems improbable that the *Perlesvaus* was composed at any great interval from the rebuilding of St. Mary's as the Lady Chapel, in 1184, and the interment of the supposed Arthur and Guenevere there, in 1191, both of which events the romance reflects, as we have seen. Finally, the *vaus d'Avaron* of Robert de Borron and the *grant vallée* in the *Perlesvaus*' description of Avalon obviously represent the same locality.

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text. Incidentally, let me say that Suchier's statement (*op. cit.*, 169) is incorrect; Hatton 82 is in many respects a more nearly complete ms of the *Perlesvaus* than the Brussels text.

THE MYSTICISM OF NOVALIS

BY WALTER D. TOY

I

AN INTERPRETATION OF DIE HYMNEN AN DIE NACHT

It was the opinion of Friedrich von Hardenberg, who wrote under the name of Novalis, that the writings of any man should be judged as an embodiment of the character of the man; that the established record of his life was a safer guide for the value of his writings than a mere critical examination of those writings themselves.

Important as was Novalis' contribution to the literature of German Romanticism, he preferred to think of himself as a man, not as a writer; and in his case, especially, it is helpful, in interpreting his most finished work, *Die Hymnen an die Nacht*, to keep clearly in mind the principles which guided his life.

Novalis was the great mystic of the Romantic School. His mysticism was not acquired as the result of abstract study of religion or theology, it was a necessary part of his being. In his case mysticism means a turning away from the interests of everyday life to those of the spiritual world. The world of the spirit was for him the real world, and yet he was trained as a lawyer and spent his life in effective service.

Without any element of dissimulation he led a double life; on the one side, as a thoroughly conscientious official, with acceptable social gifts and evident sympathy with worldly pleasures; on the other side he was a mystic dreamer, living in the world of the spirit.

This dual nature of Novalis is to be explained by the fact that he was essentially a man of intense spirituality. Left to follow his own inclinations he would doubtless have given himself wholly to poetry, that is, to the expression of his deep feeling. In so doing he would have been in sympathy with other Romanticists, for whom practical matters of every day life had no interest. But he was also by nature thorough-going and conscientious. Judging it necessary to adopt a recognized calling, he trained himself honestly for the law and later did valuable service as an official in the salt mines of Freiberg.

Under such conditions the impulses of his spiritual nature were for a long time held in check, until circumstances in his life brought them into full play. Such circumstances were offered by the death of his fiancée, Sophie von Kühn.

It may be that the devotion of Novalis to this young girl was from the beginning a dominant factor in his life; but this does not appear likely. What seems more certain is that during her sickness she became for him the object of his deepest affection. Her suffering and helplessness made the strongest appeal to him. He once said: "For Sophie I feel religion, not love. The office of religion is to suffer [to have sympathy] with the deity. If we are to love God, he must need our help."

So in her sickness Sophie became the dominating influence of his life. When she died, he felt that the whole world was a barren spot. He even resolved to die. Here was no thought of suicide, but merely of relinquishing by power of will his hold on earthly life, in order to enter upon the larger life of the spirit and so to live forever with his lost friend.

Attention has been called to the dual character of Novalis' life. While he was absolutely assured of Sophie's continued existence in the spiritual world and even began himself to live in that world, he continued to lead the life of a normal man. His diary, in which the days are numbered from the day of Sophie's death, contains nothing morbid. Its author was plainly holding his place in the every day world, while he reserved for himself a sacred allegiance to the other better world.

In his diary is recorded with perfect calmness how Novalis had a dream or vision at Sophie's grave. He embodied this experience in the Third of his *Hymns to the Night*. As he gazed upon the last resting place of his beloved, he seemed to be lifted from the earth. The world of Day vanished, he was united with Sophie forever and became a part of the spiritual world. It was after this experience that he resolved to give up the world of Day.

With this inspiration Novalis gave himself, in his meditations, wholly to the other world, the real world, unrestricted by earthly limitations. Sophie became the symbol, the representative of the world of Night. She is the Divine Maiden of the mystics; Böhme's lost Eve; identified with Christ or, at any rate, like Christ, the guide of all humanity in its search for its lost spirituality.

Now with this perfect life in view, the earthly life becomes a mere preparatory stage. Earthly experiences find their real meaning and value in their relation to the life reserved for mankind beyond the grave, in the realm of Night. Earthly love is thus a symbol of heavenly love.

After Sophie's death, and with a vivid realization of her glorified existence in the world of spirit, Novalis gave his affection to another woman, Julia von Charpentier, and would doubtless have married her, had his life been spared. This was, however, not the result of ordinary fickleness, was not an easy transfer of affection. Julia von Charpentier was an earthly symbol of the Divine Maiden. In loving her, Novalis was still loving Sophie von Kühn. Earthly love is an imperfect reflection of heavenly love.

This analysis of Novalis' mysticism has been made chiefly from the *Hymns to the Night*.¹ Below are given some extracts from the *Hymns* as illustrations.

The First Hymn begins with an enthusiastic appreciation of the light, that is, of Day, the symbol of earthly life. By his conduct Novalis had proved that he accepted fully the duties and interests of every day life.

"What living being endowed with intelligence, does not love above all the marvelous phenomena of space about him the light, the source of universal joy; light with its colors, its rays and waves, gentle yet present everywhere as dawning day!"

Man's usual conception of night.

"I turn aside to the sacred, unspeakable, mysterious night. The world lies far away, buried in a deep chasm; wild and lonesome is its place. Deep sadness assails the [human] breast. I will sink down in dew drops, mingle with the ashes. Distant memories, the wishes of youth, the dreams of childhood, the brief joys and vain hopes of a whole long life come clad in gray, like the evening mist after sunset. The Light has set up its gay pavillions in other regions. Is it possible that the Light will never come back to its children, who wait for it with the innocence of faith?"

¹ *The Hymns to the Night* were published in Friedrich Schlegel's *Athenaeum* in 1800. They are six in number. Except a small part of the Fourth Hymn, somewhat more of the Fifth, and the whole of the Sixth, they are written in rhythmic prose. There had been a version in irregular verse, but it seems likely that Novalis, possibly because of failing health, preferred not to undertake the systematic versification with rhyme of a production already rhythmic and poetic even in the prose form.

A new meaning of Night. The beginning of Novalis' mystical conception.

"What is suddenly springing up, gushing forth under my heart, so full of presage? What is swallowing the soft air of sadness? Do you too, O dark Night, take pleasure in us? What have you under your cloak, which unseen appeals with power to my soul? Splendid balsam trickles from your hand, from the bundle of poppy. You lift up the soul's heavy wings. Startled with joy, I see a serious countenance, which suddenly and gently bends towards me, and shows me my mother's youthful face encircled with endless curls. How poor and childish the Light now seems to me! How pleasant and blessed the departure of Day!"

Address to the Light.

"So, only because the Night makes your servants faithless, did you sow in the distant reaches of space the shining balls, to proclaim your power, your return, at the time of your withdrawal. More heavenly than the flashing stars seem to us the infinite eyes which the Night has opened in us. They see further than the palest of yon countless hosts; without need of light they penetrate the depths of the loving soul—[a power] which fills a higher space with unspeakable joy."

Address to the Night and to Sophie.

"Hail to the queen of the world, the lofty revealer of holy worlds, the guardian of blessed love! She sends you [Sophie] to me, tenderly loved one, sweet sun of the Night. Now I am awake, for I am yours and mine; you have revealed the Night to me as life, you have made me a man. With spiritual fire destroy my body; that in joy I may be united more fervently with you, that the wedding night may last forever!"

SECOND HYMN

Longing to be delivered from the bondage of earthly life.

"Must the morning always return? Does the power of the earthly [life] never end? Unhallowed activity [on earth] devours the heavenly beginnings of Night. Will the sweet sacrifice of Love never burn eternally? [Yes], a definite time is set for the power of Light; but beyond time and space is the sovereignty of Night."

The true sleep.

"Eternal is the sleep of Night. Sacred Sleep! Do not too seldom delight Night's consecrated devotees in this work-a-day world!"

The false sleep.

"None but fools mistake you, [O true Sleep], and know of no other

sleep than that shadow of sleep which you cast upon us in pity in yonder twilight of the true Night.

"They do not feel you, [true Sleep], in the golden stream of the grapes, in the miraculous almond oil and in the juice of the poppy."

THIRD HYMN

At the grave. Vision of the Night, the world of spirit, where Sophie is queen.

"Once when I was shedding bitter tears, when my hopes, dissolved in pain, were fading away, and I stood lonesome by the barren hill, [the grave], which in its dark, narrow compass hid the form to which my life was devoted; lonely as no man was ever yet lonely, driven by unspeakable fear, powerless, a mere wasted thought—as I looked about for help, could turn neither forward nor backward, and clung with infinite yearning to my vanishing, wasted life—there came from the distant spaces, from the heights of my former blessed state [a former life of the spirit] a chill of twilight, and suddenly the bond inherited in my birth, the chain of Light [the limitations of earthly life], broke asunder.

"Earth's splendor fled away and with it my grief; my sadness was dissolved into a new, unfathomable world. O thou Night, with thy enthusiasm, O thou Heavenly Slumber, thou didst come over me; the space about me gently rose, over this region floated my unfettered, new-born spirit.

"The hill [grave] became a dusty cloud. Through the cloud I saw the transfigured features of my beloved. In her eyes rested the eternal light; I seized her hands and my tears became a sparkling, inseparable bond.

"Thousands of years passed away like storm clouds. On her neck I wept tears of delight for this new life. It was my first, my only dream and only since then have I felt an eternal, unchangeable faith in the Heaven of Night and in the infinite Light, my beloved."

FOURTH HYMN

Full realization of the glory of the world of Night.

"I know now when the last morning will come; when the Light no longer frightens away the Night of love; when sleep will be eternal and one endless dream. I feel the drowsiness of Heaven. Long and wearisome has been my pilgrimage to the sacred grave, oppressive has been the cross [earthly cares]."

Temporary concession to the claims of earthly life.

"As yet, O cheerful Light, you arouse the weary laborer to his work; you inspire me with happiness, but you do not entice me from the moss-covered grave, the tomb of memory.

"Gladly will I work diligently; look on all sides [to see] where you need me; extol your brightness and splendor, pursue without faltering your ingenious work in its beautifully connected parts, gladly consider the meaningful course of your bright and powerful clock [the sun]; fathom the symmetry of [Nature's] powers and the laws of the wondrous universe. But my innermost heart remains faithful to the Night and to its daughter, creative Love."

Day, that is, earthly life, is a temporary, imperfect form of the spirit world.

"O Day, surely I was [in the original spirit world] before you existed; my mother [source of all life] sent me with my brothers and sisters [mankind] to live in your [day-] world, to satisfy it with love, and to make it forever a conspicuous monument; to plant there imperishable flowers.

"As yet in my earthly life my heavenly thoughts have not matured; as yet there are but few traces of our revelation. Some day your clock will point to the end of time, when you, [O World], will become like one of us [that is, spirit], when you will be dissolved and will die in fervent desire. I myself feel the end of your activity; I feel heavenly freedom, a blessed return to Life. In bitter pain I recognize your removal from our home, your opposition to the grand old Heaven. Your mad rage is vain. Unextinguished stands the cross; the victorious standard of our human race. [The cross is the Christian emblem of Christ's victory over death.]

Ecstatic vision of the spiritual life.

"I'll journey thither [to the heavenly land],
And every form of suffering [on earth]
Will some day be
The quickening cause of [heavenly] pleasure.
In a short time
I shall be free
And live in ecstasy
In the lap of Love.
Eternal life surges
Mightily in my breast;
From above I look down
Upon you [O earth],
And that mound [the grave].
Your light is extinguished.
O Beloved, [Christ], draw
Me with might to Thee,
That I may fall on sleep
And so can love.
I feel the quickening stream of death.

To balsam and ether
 My blood is transformed.
 I live in the day-light
 With courage and faith,
 In the Night I die
 In holy fire."

FIFTH HYMN

Novalis now enlarges his conception of the spiritual world. His natural interest in this world has been stimulated by a vivid realization of Sophie's existence there. But her entrance into this new life has been through death. What then is death?

In order to set forth his own mystical view, he gives in poetical form an historical account of the opinions held concerning death, beginning with the mythological system of the Greeks and Romans and including a suggestion of their later philosophical doctrine.

In primitive times life was joyous and happy. The gods dwelt on earth, nature was their home, they lived in sympathetic association with men, life was like a great banquet. But there came a disturbing figure to the banquet tables. It was the grim specter of Death. Here the gods could give no help.

"A frightful vision
 In terrible form came to the happy tables,
 And clothed the spirits of the guests in wild alarm.
 The gods themselves could here give no help
 To comfort the afflicted hearts.
 Mysterious was the path of this monster,
 Nor prayer nor offering could still his rage;
 It was Death which disturbed their feast
 With fear and pain and tears."

Then came the dawning of a new era, more materialistic than the first happy age, where imagination and easy faith had guided man. But still no solution was found.

When generations had passed, Christ appeared, born in the ranks of the simple folk, the son of the first virgin mother. With prophetic vision the far-seeing East [the Wise Men], hailed him as their King and guide.

Turning his face toward heaven, he taught his wonderful doctrines, and gave thus the lacking supplement to ancient philosophy. Christ "brought life and immortality to light."

When he died the physical death, the old idea struggled for a short time, three days. Then he conquered the grave, and since then his happy followers have adored him, seeing in his resurrection their own victory over Death.

"The deadly stone is lifted,
Humanity has risen again.
We are all thine,
No bonds are mine.
The bitterest grief vanished when
Earth and Life found their place
At the last Supper, in thy grace.
Death calls us to the wedding,
The lamps are burning bright.
The virgins are all ready
They lack not oil to-night.
Would that the distant spaces
Resounded with Thy Song*
And the stars above were calling us
With human voices strong!"

Death has lost his sting.

"Now at the grave none weeps in pain
Whose love in faith is firm;
Love's heavenly, sweet possession
We ne'er shall lose again.
Night fills us with its spirit,
That makes our longing mild.
Our heart has a faithful guardian,
Heaven's own true, blessed child."

SIXTH HYMN

Longing for death.

"Down to the bosom of the earth,
Away from the realm of Light!
Our bitter pain, earth's cruel blows
Prepare our joyous flight.
The narrow boat will bring us o'er—
A passage quick—to the heavenly shore.

What still delays our glad return?
Our dear ones are resting there;
Our earthly life at the grave will end,

* Night's.

Life full of wasting care.
No longer we seek the better part
In this empty world for our weary heart.

A shudder, mysterious, infinite,
But sweet, pervades my soul,
Me thinks, 'tis an echo from afar,
Inviting us to our goal.
Our loved ones long to see us come,
And their longing gently draws us home.

Then let me go to my sweet bride,
To Jesus, my loving friend.
Take comfort! The shades of night draw near,
For those who love cares end.
A dream breaks all our fetters free,
We awake, our Father's house to see."

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DAS VERWANDTSCHAFTSVERHÄLTNIS DER HAND-
SCHRIFTEN DES TRISTAN ULRICHS VON
TÜRHEIM, NEBST EINER PROBE DES
KRITISCHEN TEXTES.

VON JOHN L. CAMPION.

I

Seit den Veröffentlichungen Bédiers und Murets in den Publikationen der Société des anciens textes français, wodurch die altfranzösischen Fassungen des Tristan allgemein zugänglich gemacht wurden,¹ hat man sich der Erforschung dieses Gegenstandes mit erneuertem Interesse zugewandt. Durch die Erscheinungen des letzten Dezenniums hat sich die bereits weit ausgedehnte Bibliographie der Tristansage erheblich vermehrt.

Wie man sich auch zur Frage eines "Ur-Tristan" verhalten mag, und trotz des Umstandes, dass unter den Forschern keine absolute Einigkeit über den letzten Ursprung der Sage herrscht, darf eine klare Einsicht in das gegenseitige Verhältnis der verschiedenen literarischen Versionen derselben als das sichere Resultat dieser Forschung gelten. Diese Tätigkeit hat sich aber keineswegs auf romanisches Gebiet beschränkt, sondern auch in Deutschland und anderwärts hat man das Seinige zur Lösung der verschiedenen und oft auch komplizierten Fragen beigetragen. Für die neuere Zeit gilt dies namentlich von den zahlreichen Beiträgen Golthers, während zwei der Hauptquellen für die Sagenuntersuchung schon mehrere Jahre in Kölbing's ausgezeichneten Editionen der nordischen und englischen Versionen vorlagen.²

Unter den grossen Dichtern des deutschen Mittelalters ist aber Gottfried von Strassburg die Ehre einer kritischen Ausgabe erst spät zuteil geworden. Man hat hier und da den Wunsch nicht unterdrücken können: hätte nur Lachmann Musse und Neigung gehabt, dasselbe für Gottfried zu tun was er für Hartmann und in

¹ J. Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas, poème du XII^e siècle*. Paris 1902. 1905; E. Muret, *Le roman de Tristan par Béroul et un anonyme, poème du XII^e siècle*. Paris 1903.

² E. Kölbing, *Die nordische und die englische Version der Tristansage*. 2 Bände. Heilbronn 1879. 1882.

noch grösserem Masse für Wolfram, in seiner monumentalen Ausgabe der Werke dieses Dichters, geleistet hat. Schon seit dem Jahre 1784 war Gottfrieds Tristan in dem fehlerhaften Druck der Florentiner Handschrift in Myllers Sammlung zugänglich.³ Diesen ersetzte die 1821 erschienene Ausgabe von Grootes,⁴ welche die ersten Ansätze zu einer kritischen Arbeit machte. Von der Hagens Text vom Jahre 1823,⁵ ohne Lesartenverzeichnis und jede Auskunft über seine handschriftlichen Quellen entbehrend, bedeutet eher einen Rückschritt in dieser Richtung. Erst durch die Ausgabe von Massmann wurde 1843 der Textkritik eine annähernd sichere Grundlage gegeben, aber auch hier fand keineswegs die gesamte damals vorhandene Überlieferung eine Berücksichtigung.⁶ Die für weitere Kreise bestimmten Editionen von Bechstein und Golther kommen wegen ihrer Anlage hier kaum in Betracht.⁷

Wie sehr man sich nach einer wirklich, auf erneuerte Prüfung der Handschriften und unter Heranziehung des ganzen Quellenmaterials kritisch hergerichteten Ausgabe von Gottfrieds Dichtung sehnte, so hatten doch nur wenige den Mut die Lösung der schwierigen Aufgabe auf sich zu nehmen. Über dem Unternehmen hat aber, wie es scheint, von Anfang an ein eigentümliches Missgeschick gewaltet, denn unter denen, welche die Arbeit in Angriff genommen haben, ist es keinem vergönnt worden dieselbe zum Abschluss zu führen. Zwar Hermann Paul beabsichtigte zu Anfang der siebziger Jahre eine neue Ausgabe zu liefern und ging ziemlich weit in der Beschaffung des handschriftlichen Materials. Den Plan hat er aber zu Gunsten anderer doch schliesslich aufgegeben. Kurz vordem war Oskar Jänicke gleichfalls mit demselben Gegenstand beschäftigt, wurde aber an der Ausführung seines Unternehmens durch seinen frühen Tod verhindert. Jänickes handschriftlicher Nachlass ist durch die Vermittlung Zachers an A. Reifferscheid

³ Chr. H. Myller, (Müller), *Sammlung deutscher Gedichte aus dem XII. XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert*. 3 Bände. Berlin 1782. 1785.

⁴ E. von Groote, *Tristan und Isolde mit der Fortsetzung des Meisters Ulrich von Türlheim*. Berlin 1821.

⁵ F. H. von der Hagen, *Gottfrieds von Strassburg Werke aus den besten Handschriften mit Einleitung und Wörterbuch*. 2 Bände. Breslau 1823.

⁶ H. F. Massmann, *Tristan und Isolde von Gottfried von Strassburg*. Leipzig 1843.

⁷ R. Bechstein, *Gottfrieds von Strassburg Tristan*. 2 Bände. Leipzig 1869. 1870. Dritte Auflage 1890. 1891. W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde und Flore und Blanche-flur*. Berlin und Stuttgart 1889.

übertragen worden, der für die *Germanistische Handbibliothek* eine Ausgabe liefern sollte. Im Jahre 1909 starb auch Reifferscheid, ohne dass seine bereits 1878 in Aussicht gestellte Ausgabe wesentlich gefördert wäre.

Erst im Jahre 1906 ist der erste Band von Marolds gross angelegter, 1881 auf Anregung Oskar Schades begonnener Ausgabe erschienen.⁸ Dieser enthält bloss den Text und die Varianten, nebst einer ausführlichen Einleitung in welcher die Handschriften genau beschrieben und charakterisiert werden. Es sollten sich diesem Textbände noch zwei weitere Bände anschliessen, welche einen Kommentar und ein ausführliches Wörterbuch zu bringen versprachen. Aber wiederum waltete ein ungünstiges Schicksal über dem Unternehmen: kaum drei Jahre nach dem Erscheinen dieses ersten Bandes wurde Marold durch einen jähen Tod hinweggerafft.

Das von Gottfried gesagte gilt, wenn auch nicht in allen Teilen, ebenfalls für Ulrich von Türheim. Wie die oben erwähnten neuen Ausgaben der altfranzösischen Texte das Studium der folkloristischen Probleme von neuem in Fluss gebracht haben, so hat Marolds Ausgabe des Gottfried in gleichem Masse auf die kritische und sprachliche Untersuchung der mittelhochdeutschen Texte gewirkt.⁹ Beigetragen hat auch hierzu die von Bernt besorgte Neuauflage des Heinrich von Freiberg, welche gleichzeitig mit Marolds Textband erschienen ist.¹⁰ Von den Hauptvertretern der Sage in Deutschland ist somit Ulrich der einzige geblieben, der nicht in einem neuen Gewande erschienen wäre. Diesem Mangel sucht die vorliegende Untersuchung abzuheilen.

Veröffentlicht wurde der Text von Ulrich zuerst in der Ausgabe Gottfrieds von von Groote im Jahre 1821; darauf folgt von der Hagen 1823 mit einem Abdruck der Handschrift H. Massmanns

⁸ K. Marold, *Gottfried von Strassburg. Tristan. 1. Band. Text mit zwei Tafeln.* Leipzig 1906.

⁹ Von wichtigen Arbeiten auf diesem Gebiete hebe ich besonders hervor: C. von Kraus, *Wort und Vers in Gottfrieds Tristan.* Z. f. d. A. 51, 301-378; K. Herold, *Der Münchner Tristan. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Kritik des Tristan Gottfrieds von Strassburg.* Strassburg 1911; F. Ranke, *Die Überlieferung von Gottfrieds Tristan. I. Verbesserungen und Zusätze zu Marolds Variantenapparat. II. Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der vollständig erhaltenen Handschriften.* Z. f. d. A. 55, 157-278.

¹⁰ A. Bernt, *Heinrich von Freiberg. Mit einer Lichtdruck-Beilage.* Halle 1906.

Ausgabe von 1843, die bis jetzt gute Dienste geleistet hat, leidet besonders daran, dass sie kein vollständiges Variantenverzeichnis enthält. Überdies ist die Zuverlässigkeit des Textes durch einige nicht unbedeutende Druckfehler beeinträchtigt. Unter diesen Umständen bedarf also eine Neuausgabe wohl keiner besonderen Rechtfertigung.

Das wenige, was über das Leben und die Persönlichkeit unseres Dichters zu ermitteln war, hat Busse in seinem unlängst erschienenen Buche, auf welches ich ausdrücklich verweisen möchte, erschöpfend dargestellt.¹¹ Es sei aber gestattet einige der Hauptergebnisse seiner Untersuchung hier kurz hervorzuheben. Danach ist, wie schon allgemein angenommen wurde, die Heimat Ulrichs in Schwaben, unweit von Augsburg zu suchen. Seine Lebenszeit wird ungefähr durch die Jahre 1200-1260 begrenzt. Ausser der Tristan-Fortsetzung ist Ulrich als Verfasser zwei anderer Dichtungen zu betrachten. Nach dem Zeugnis seines Zeitgenossen, Rudolfs von Ems, hat er Konrad Flecks Bearbeitung von Chrestien de Troyes Cleges zu Ende geführt. Von diesem Gedicht besitzen wir nur noch ein Fragment,¹² welches Busse wegen der Übereinstimmung der Sprache und des Stils unbedenklich unserem Dichter zuschreibt. Dieses hat wohl als ein Jugendwerk Ulrichs zu gelten. An zweiter Stelle steht der Tristan, während der Rennewart aus den letzten Jahren seines Lebens stammt. Dieser ist eine 36000 Verse zählende Fortsetzung zu Wolframs von Eschenbach Willehalm, die noch der Herausgabe harret.

Im folgenden habe ich mich auf eine Darstellung der Überlieferung beschränkt, da Busse auch die Quellenfragen, das Verhältnis Ulrichs zu Eilhart von Oberge, sowie den Stil und die Metrik des Tristan eingehend erörtert hat. Eine Untersuchung der Sprache Ulrichs auf Grund des Tristan allein hätte, solange der Rennewart unzugänglich bleibt, nur zu unsicheren und fraglichen Resultaten führen können.

Als Dichter ist Ulrich nicht unter die Grossen zu rechnen. Er ist Epigone im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes. Die klangvolle Sprache seines Vorbildes hat bei ihm im Tristan nur wenig nachgewirkt, und bereits hier verrät sich die seiner geistigen Anlage mehr zusagende Ausdrucksweise Wolframs, dessen Einfluss überall

¹¹ K. Busse, *Ulrich von Türheim*. Berlin 1913. *Palæstra* 121.

¹² Herausgegeben von Bachmann, *Z. f. d. A.* 32, 123 f.

zu erkennen ist. Auf den bis jetzt, so viel ich weiss, unbeachtet gebliebenen Einfluss Hartmanns von Aue habe ich in den Anmerkungen zu verschiedenen Stellen hingewiesen.¹³

II

Ulrichs von Türheim Fortsetzung zu Gottfrieds von Strassburg Tristan ist in folgenden Handschriften und Fragmenten auf uns gekommen:

1) H. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Codex Palatinus Germ. 360. 4°, Pergament, dem 13. Jahrhundert angehörend. Voraus geht Gottfrieds Gedicht, welches bis fol. 128c reicht; daran schliesst sich unmittelbar das Werk Ulrichs, das den Raum der nächsten vierundzwanzig Blätter einnimmt. Die Mundart ist alemannisch, mit mitteldeutscher Färbung.

2) M. München, Codex Germ. 51. 4°, der Hof- und Staatsbibliothek. Pergament, ebenfalls aus dem 13. Jahrhundert, wohl der ersten Hälfte. Fol. 99-109 steht Ulrichs Fortsetzung, auf Gottfrieds Gedicht folgend. Mit einer Lage nach fol. 100 fehlen die Verse 461-2583. Der Dialekt ist alemannisch.

3) B. Köln, Historisches Archiv, Nr. 88, eine Pergamenths. in 8° aus dem Jahre 1323. Die ersten 234 Seiten enthalten Gottfrieds Tristan, während der übrige Teil der Hs.—bis Seite 263—von Ulrichs Werk eingenommen wird. Mittelfränkische Mundart.

4) N. Berlin, Königl. Bibliothek, Germ. 284. 4°, Pergament, aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. Nach Gottfried folgt Ulrich von Türheim bis zum Verse 2511. Die Sprache dieser Hs. stimmt mit der von B vollkommen überein.

5) R. Brüssel, Bibliothèque royale des Ducs de Bourgogne, 14697, Papier, 15. Jahrhundert, kl. fol. Zwischen Gottfried von Strassburg und Ulrich steht das sonst nur in S überlieferte Gedicht von 2705 Versen, das Paul unter dem Titel Tristan als Mönch veröffentlicht hat.¹⁴ Darauf folgt Ulrich von Vers 2855 an; die Verse

¹³ Ich benutze diese Gelegenheit die Tatsache zu erwähnen, dass Busse das von Pfeiffer, *Altö. Übungsbuch*, mitgeteilte Stück aus der Wiener Hs. des Rennewart ganz übersehen hat.

¹⁴ H. Paul, *Tristan als Mönch. Deutsches Gedicht aus dem 13. Jahrhundert*. München 1895. = *Sitzungsber. der phil.-philol. und der histor. Klasse der k. bayer. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1895.

3664-3730 fehlen mit dem letzten Blatt der Hs. Die Sprache ist alemannisch.

6) S. Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek, Codex Germ. 12, Papier, eine moderne Abschrift aus dem Jahre 1722. Nach einer mitkopierten Notiz, gehörte das jetzt verlorene Original dem Jahre 1489 an. Der Dialekt ist wie in R, alemannisch, und mit dieser Hs. gemein überliefert S Ulrichs Dichtung nur von Vers 2855 an, ebenfalls auf das oben erwähnte Stück Tristan als Mönch folgend.

7) P. Berlin, Königl. Bibliothek, Codex Germ. 640, Papier, fol., enthält auf fol. 139a nur die ersten vierzehn Verse von Ulrich von Türheim. Dies lässt sich aus dem Umstand erklären, dass der Schreiber von P ein unvollständiges Exemplar von Ulrichs Werk vor sich hatte; er griff daher zu der Version des Eilhart, mit welchem er bei Vers 6103, dem bei Ulrich entsprechenden Teil der Handlung, einsetzt. Die Mundart dieser Hs. ist schwäbisch.

Für eine ausführliche Beschreibung der oben angeführten Handschriften, sowie für das Nähere über ihre sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten, verweise ich auf die Einleitung Marolds zu seiner Ausgabe von Gottfrieds Tristan. Hier habe ich mich nur auf das wesentliche beschränkt.

Trotz der Zahl der Handschriften, welche die Überlieferung von Ulrichs Werk umfasst, ist diese als Ganzes betrachtet, nichts weniger als gut zu bezeichnen. Denn man hat hier mit beinahe denselben Verhältnissen zu rechnen, als wenn kein Zeugnis ausser der Hs. H vorhanden wäre. Diese Hs. allein—ein paar fehlende Verse abgerechnet, die zum Teil aus den anderen Hss. ergänzt werden können—überliefert das Gedicht vollständig. Die Hs. P kommt wegen ihrer Kürze bei einer Textherstellung gar nicht in Betracht. Davon aber ganz abgesehen, gibt es keine einzige Stelle, die in allen Handschriften vertreten wäre. Für grössere Partien des Textes ist man sogar bloss auf H angewiesen. Dass man trotzdem, mit vielleicht einigen wenigen Ausnahmen, einen befriedigenden Text bei konservativer Schonung der Überlieferung gewinnen kann, verdanken wir dem inneren Wert und der Vorzüglichkeit der Heidelberger Handschrift, einem Umstand, den bereits Marold bei seiner Beurteilung des Gottfried'schen Textes richtig erkannt und verwertet hat.

An denjenigen Stellen wo H offenbar Falsches überliefert, ergibt sich eine Besserung fast immer von selbst. Dies gilt namentlich von solchen Fällen, wo H allein steht; daneben aber gibt es eine

Anzahl von Stellen, an denen die Gruppe MBN gegenüber H das Richtige bewahrt zu haben scheint. In der Hauptsache verweise ich auf das Lesartenverzeichnis und begnüge mich hier, einige ausgewählte Beispiele aus den ersten fünfhundert Versen anzuführen. Diejenigen Stellen, wo nur H vorliegt sind als solche bezeichnet. Man vergleiche z. B. Vers 23 *bis*, 52 *unere* (H), 60 *ysote enziehen*, 106 *iegelichen* (H), 121 *daher*, 131 *wan hat nirgen* (H), 171 *ist* (H), 173 *ander*, 189 *biz* (H), 214 *enphlac*, 231 (vgl. die Laa.), 235 *zeige*, 238 *zwei wnder*, 273 *mit herzen*, 339 *noch*, 350 *zware*, 361 *ze*, 373 *dahin*, 454 *an sin*, usw. Aus der gleichen Partie erwähne ich noch folgende in H vorkommende Schreibfehler: 78 *heliben*, 134 *wid* (d. h. *wider*), 197 *schimlichen*, 278 *mag*, 390 *sinen*, 392 *einge*, 444 *mit*, 491 *ebele*, 521 *vriunschaft*. Dieser Handschrift fehlen auch einige Verse vollständig, z. B. 514, wo aber BN zu Gebote stehen; ebenfalls fehlt der Vers 3098, den H in Übereinstimmung mit R nicht hat, der jedoch aus MBS zu ergänzen war. Daneben sind aber vier Verse ausgelassen, an Stellen wo der Text durch H allein überliefert ist und welche darum als Lücken unseres Textes zu gelten haben. Dies sind die Verse 605, 748, 1497, 1649. Bei der Vers 3066 angesetzten Lücke ist das Verhältnis etwas anders, denn hier steht H nicht allein, sondern an der Seite der Hss. MBRS, so dass das Fehlen des Verses in sämtlichen fünf Handschriften als zufällig zu bezeichnen ist. Wie wir unten sehen werden, besteht bei dieser Lücke eine Übereinstimmung zwischen drei sonst nicht verwandten Handschriftengruppen, d. h. zwischen H + MB + RS. Handelte es sich nur um die Gruppe MB, so wäre die Stelle ganz in Ordnung, da diese auch den vorhergehenden Vers 3065 fortlässt, aber die Regel hat sich bestätigt, dass bei Auslassungen bzw. Zusätzen, die Gruppe MB(N) den anderen Handschriften gegenüber nie den Vorzug verdient.¹⁵

¹⁵ Das Verhältnis liesse sich leicht erklären wenn wir, wie Prof. Collitz vorschlägt, nach 1495 und 3065 das Vorkommen des Dreireims annehmen; vgl. W. Grimm, *Zur Geschichte des Reims* 620 f. = *Kl. Schr.* 4, 237, sowie die Wolfenbüttler Fragmente des Erec, die Zwierzina im 45. Bande der *Z. f. d. A.* bespricht und den dort sporadisch auftretenden Dreireim als unecht erweist. Sehr wahrscheinlich ist derselbe unter dem Einfluss des Wigalois entstanden. Für unseren Text scheint mir aber, dass wir es hier mit einer Nachahmung des bei Gottfried so beliebten Vierzeilers zu tun haben, und dass an beiden Stellen je ein Vers ausgefallen ist, ohne jedoch den Sinn zu stören.

Damit kommen wir zu einer genaueren Betrachtung der Handschriften MBN, welche wir, den Resultaten unserer Untersuchung vorgehend, als die Vertreterinnen einer eigentümlichen Rezension unseres Textes bezeichnen. Werfen wir zunächst einen Blick auf die Überlieferung von Gottfrieds Tristan, so können wir dort dieselben Verhältnisse beobachten, nämlich, dass die Münchener Handschrift, nebst den beiden ihr eng verwandten B und N, in der Beschaffenheit der Überlieferung von Gottfrieds Gedicht eine eigenartige Stellung einnimmt. Wegen der zahlreichen Auslassungen und sonstigen Änderungen des Textes, welche hier vorkommen—es fehlt nämlich ohne auffällige Lücken etwa ein Fünftel des ganzen Gedichts—wurde Marold zu der Annahme geführt, dass wir es mit einer ersten Redaktion des Gottfried'schen Textes zu tun hätten. Neuerdings haben aber die bereits oben erwähnten Untersuchungen von Herold und Ranke die Sonderstellung von M (+ BN) genauer bestimmt, und jenem ist der unwiderlegliche Nachweis gelungen, dass wir vielmehr eine kürzende Bearbeitung des Textes vor uns haben, die Arbeit eines bei Hartmann von Aue in die Schule gegangenen Schreibers, der neben den von ihm vorgenommenen Auslassungen auch die Sprache und Ausdrucksweise Gottfrieds nach dem Muster von Hartmanns Iwein umgebildet hat. Der Text Gottfrieds ist gleichsam hartmannisiert worden.

Wie wir bereits oben gesehen haben, ist Ulrichs Gedicht in keiner Handschrift überliefert ohne dass das Werk Gottfrieds vorausgeht. Dadurch ist die Überlieferung der beiden Werke auf das engste verwandt und sie gehen, soweit dieselben Handschriften in Betracht kommen, auf Schritt und Tritt zusammen. Auch ist von vorn herein die Annahme wohl berechtigt, dass Ulrich seine Fortsetzung nicht für sich, sondern gleich mit einem Exemplar von Gottfrieds Gedicht herausgegeben hat. Wegen ihres hohen Alters kann auch die Vorlage von M nicht sehr weit vom Original abstehen.

Ein Hauptkriterium für die Zusammengehörigkeit mehrerer Handschriften bilden die Auslassungen, Fehler und sonstigen Textveränderungen, welche sie gemein haben. Eine Bestätigung der engen Verwandtschaft der Handschriften MBN findet sich also in dem Umstand, dass sie eine grosse Menge Verse getilgt haben, wobei ganze Episoden fortgelassen werden, ohne dass jedoch der Gang der Handlung irgendwie gestört würde. Man merkt also den be-

dächtig zu Werke gehenden Bearbeiter und hat mit den Willkürlichkeiten eines stumpfsinnigen Abschreibers nicht zu rechnen. Für eine längere Partie des Textes, nämlich von Vers 461 bis 2584, fehlt *M* wegen einer Lücke der Handschrift; gleichfalls bricht *N* mit Vers 2512 plötzlich ab, so dass wir für die betreffenden Stellen bloss auf *NB* resp. auf *MB* oder auf *B* allein angewiesen sind. Aber diesen Verlust dürfen wir wohl verschmerzen, denn an Stellen, wo *MBN* resp. *MB* überliefert sind, hat sich *B* als eine zuverlässige Vertreterin von *M* herausgestellt, so dass man dort, wo bloss *NB* vorliegen, mit fast absoluter Gewissheit die Gleichung *B* = *M* annehmen darf.

Es fehlen in *MBN*—resp. in dieser Gruppe *-M*, *-N* oder *-MN*—folgende Verse: 27-8, 35-6, 39, 49-52, 73-6, 89-90, 98-116, 118, 123-26, 131-34, 139-56, 159-72, 179-82, 189, 195-204, 215-16, 281-92, 309-20, 327-32, 365-68, 395-96, 413-31, 471-72, 522-74, 591-615, 645-832, 839-40, 855-58, 909-14, 921-22, 933-38, 1101-06, 1151-66, 1177-78, 1197-98, 1213-14, 1255-56, 1305-14, 1319-26, 1331-32, 1339-1416, 1425-32, 1439-44, 1461-62, 1467-1513, 1516, 1523-28, 1543-46, 1563-68, 1573-90, 1603-06, 1615-18, 1635-36, 1639-67, 1683-88, 1697-1738, 1769-77, 1795-1800, 1827-30, 1835-36, 1849-90, 1925-36, 1955-66, 2003-04, 2025-28, 2039-2279, 2285-94, (resp. 2291-94), 2301-02, 2325-26, 2347-54, 2383-87, 2390-2400, 2429-70, 2483-2504, 2525-26, 2563-83, 2815-16, 2915-16, 2919-34, 2954-60, 2965-86, (resp. 2966-71), 3001-02, 3021-29, 3035-36, 3041-42, 3053-55, 3065, 3113-14, 3117-18, 3121-24, 3131-34, 3149-66, 3195-98, 3231-36, 3335-40, 3345-46, 3467-70, 3503-04, 3519-20, 3528-46, 3553-76, 3589-92, 3603-04, 3613-27, 3633-70, 3683-3717, also zusammen 1472 (resp. 1452) Verse, oder mehr als ein Drittel des ganzen Gedichts.

Nicht weniger auffallend ist die Übereinstimmung, welche sich in Bezug auf die Zusatzverse findet. Bemerkenswert ist es, dass die eingeschobenen Verse oder Versgruppen, mit Ausnahme von ein paar unten zu besprechenden Stellen, sich nur dort finden, wo Auslassungen vorgenommen wurden. Im folgenden gebe ich in Klammern die Verszahl hinter der der Zusatz steht, darauf die Zahl der betreffenden Verse: (158) 2, (194) 2, (521) 7, (590) 1, (644) 12, (1614) 2, (1638) 6, (1696) 4, (1768) 1, (2038) 2, (2382) 1, (2389) 1, (2953) 1, (3020) 3, (3052) 1, (3130) 2, (3148) 4, (3502) 2, (3612) 5, (3682) 7, im ganzen sind 66 Verse neu hinzu-

gedichtet worden. Nur an einer Stelle, (3502), stimmt die Zahl der fehlenden Verse mit der der hinzugedichteten überein. Das häufige Vorkommen von bloss einem Zusatzvers ist dadurch zu erklären, dass der Umarbeiter sich oft genötigt sah ein Reimpaar zu heilen, nachdem er seinen Einschnitt in den Text gemacht hatte.

Wie bereits oben erwähnt, gibt es drei Stellen an denen eingeschobene Verse vorkommen ohne Fehlendes ganz oder teilweise zu ersetzen. Nach den Versen 2515 und 2516, wo die Hs. B als alleinige Vertreterin der Gruppe MBN gilt, hat diese je einen Vers hinzugefügt. Etwas anders liegt es bei dem nach Vers 2584 stehenden Einschiebsel. Voraus geht die Lücke 2563-2583, den Vers 2584 liess der Schreiber unangetastet, und um das Verspaar zu ergänzen hat er das Reimwort aus 2583 geholt und den Vers auf 2584 folgen lassen. Auch hier steht B allein und zufällig setzt M mit Vers 2585, nämlich nach der grossen Lücke, wieder ein.

Nicht nur äusserlich lässt sich eine Gruppe MBN postulieren, sondern auch wegen der inneren Textgestalt dieser Handschriften, ist eine solche Annahme berechtigt. Gemeinschaftlich haben sie auch eine grosse Menge von Stellen aufzuweisen, an denen sie der Hs. H gegenüber eine andere Lesart bieten. Aus den ersten fünfhundert Versen des Gedichts möchte ich auf einige markante Fälle solcher Textänderungen hinweisen, und betrachte zunächst diejenigen Stellen, wo MBN den Vers erweitert, oder ein anderes Wort, oder schliesslich eine verschiedene Wortform zeigt. Hinter der Verszahl steht die von H gebotene Lesart, die, wenn nicht ausdrücklich das Gegenteil gesagt wird, mit unserem Texte übereinstimmt; an zweiter Stelle steht die Lesart von MBN. Man vergleiche also: 22 *als ich—so ich*; 43 *beschach—geschach*; 46 *lâ den unfuoc—und la disen ungefuch*; 63 *mines herzen—miner frouden*; 86 *swar an—wizze war an*; 97 *geil—fro (:do)*; 121 *daher—durch rât*, (wurde bereits von Massmann in den Text gesetzt); 136 *sælec—suezer*; 157 *ganc—nu ganc*; 173 *do—wider*; 231 *gedächte—dahte*; 236 *verlust—gelust*; 245 *enbehaltet—behalt*; 246 *disen wandelungen—disen zwein w.*; 249 *füege—sehe*; 256 *genam—nam*; 267 *mir in dem—in minen*; 268 *der herzensmerzen—des herze s.*; 273 *mit herzen—von rehte*, (von Massmann aufgenommen); 274 *für wâr—zu rehte*; 322 *si ir leit—siz*; 334 *dâ—ouch*; 336 *bescheiden—hofsich*; 381 *bekâmen—kâmen*; 384 *ritterlichiu—wunneclichiu*; 433

gesaget—geklaget; 437 *mir ez sagen—mirz benamen sagen*; 439 *es—dîrs*; 444 *herzelîche—herzelichen*; 446 *solte sîn mîn êman—ist ein so gevuoge man*; 458 *unde—unde wil*; 468 *geselleclîche—gesellenclîche*; 490 *hât—gewan*, usw.

Neben solchen leichten Änderungen, kommen aber auch gewaltsamere vor. Es werden, z. B. die Verse 40-41 zu einem Verse zusammengezogen, desgleichen die Verse 190-191, während 432 zu zwei Versen erweitert wurde. Andere Differenzen, meistens bedeutende Änderungen betreffend, die sich aber in keine bestimmte Kategorie einreihen lassen, begegnen an folgenden Stellen: 37, 77, 78, 117, 127, 130, 434, 447, 473, usw. Innerhalb der ausgehobenen Partie sei schliesslich auf folgende in MBN vorkommende Stellen hingewiesen wo einzelne Wörter des Textes fehlen: 46 und 86 *Tristan*; 138 *vîl*; 224 und 263 *und*; 398 *hol*; 437 *swester*.

Hieraus geht wohl mit genügender Sicherheit hervor, dass der Text von Ulrichs Werk in den Handschriften MBN, resp. in ihrer Vorlage, eine gänzliche und weitgehende Umarbeitung erfahren hat. Eine genaue Durchmusterung des Variantenapparats wird die schon im Voraus angedeuteten und für den Anfang des Textes dargelegten Verhältnisse vollauf bestätigen.

Innerhalb der Gruppe MBN sind die Handschriften MB näher mit einander verwandt, denn es kommt keine Stelle vor, wo M + N gegen B stände, oder wo B + N eine von M verschiedene Lesart böte. Daneben aber fehlt es durchaus nicht an Stellen, wo die Handschrift N gegen MB ihren eigenen Weg geht, sogar dort, wo MB mit H übereinstimmt. Man vergleiche die folgenden hier in Betracht kommenden Varianten. Wie oben, steht zuerst die gemeinsame Lesart von MB (+ H), an zweiter Stelle die N-Abweichung. Vers 10 *geschîhte—rihte*; 13 *von künste—mit kunsten*; 29 *gediene so—diene also*; 32 *ze frouwen—zu frouden*; 33 *lobes—mit lobe*; 37 *genuoge—ir genuoc*; 48 *doch—ouch*; 68 *trûtgeselle—ei t.*; 84 *nieten—genieten*; 94 *habe es dînes—nim dîns*; 119 *bî einander—beide*; 157 *brinc—in bringe*; 173 *mit einander—beide*; 183 *sân—zuhant*; 212 *genôte—genugen*; 217 *dâ—hie*; 220 *bescheinet—erscheinet*; 227 *den—sinen*; 229 *daz—den*; 230 *manecvâl—vîl m.*; 242 *iteniuwe—alzyt nuwe*; 252 *gemüete—minne*; 255 *gezam—in quam*; 277 *alterseine—alleyne*; 278 *gedâhte—dahte*; 298 *muot—wille*; 302 *magetlîcher—machtumlicher*; 304 *wederz si*

—wat si; 335 herre—owe tristan; 348 niemer z. d. k.—neit in queme; 352 swendet—wendet; 354 vil—wey; 375 ahten—dachten; 377 niuwan—niet wan; 382 nâmen—vernâmen; 402 dâ daz süeze stât—dat ir wist wale steit; 404 fluochen doch—vluchede der; 410 ellen—koneyt, (d. h. kuonheit); 412 dort oder—da noch; 435 gereit—gesacht; 436 deist ungeseit—ich was verdacht; 447 so versaget—so verre v.; 448 noch—eyne; 464 klagen—sagen; 474 hin—hey mede; 476 ze dem—zu eme; 480 giht—sait; 494 manec—minnen; 498 hât—helt, usw. Ebenfalls ändert N die Wortfolge in den Versen 38, 79, 176, 263, 503, und hat ausserdem einzelne, meistens Formwörter häufig ausgelassen, z. B. 72, 212 *nu*; 188 *aber*; 209 *alle*; 226 *sich*; 339 *nie*; 398 *gar*; 476 *sâ*, usw. Ferner bewahrt N in den meisten Zusatzversen der Gruppe MBN, wo H nicht in Betracht kommt, ihre Sonderstellung den Handschriften MB gegenüber, z. B. in den nach 158 stehenden Versen hat MB *rede*, N *mære*; nach 194 MB *gedaht*, N *vorgesagt*; nach 521 ändert N vollständig, um nur ein paar Beispiele aus dem Anfang des Gedichts zu erwähnen. Für einige der hier angeführten Fälle, nämlich für solche die innerhalb der grossen Lücke in M (461-2585) vorkommen, musste B die Gleichung M + B vertreten. Dadurch wird aber das Resultat keineswegs erschüttert, denn die sehr enge Verwandtschaft von M und B haben wir an kontrollierbaren Stellen zur Genüge beobachten können.

Das Ergebnis unserer Untersuchung über das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis der Handschriften MBN dürfen wir demnach kurz etwa so formulieren. Die drei Handschriften MBN machen zusammen eine Gruppe aus, welche eine Umarbeitung des Ulrich'schen Textes darstellt. Alle drei haben eine gemeinsame Vorlage, die wir mit X bezeichnen und welche wegen des verhältnismässig hohen Alters von M, nicht sehr weit von dem Archetypus O* absteht. Aus X sind M und N unabhängig von einander geflossen, während B unmittelbar auf M zurückgeht, ja, sie darf sogar für eine Abschrift von M gelten.

Wenden wir uns nunmehr einer Betrachtung der Hss. RS zu, so finden wir ein ähnliches Verhältnis wie das bei MBN vorliegende, insofern als beide Handschriften nur eine Auswahl aus Ulrichs Werk überliefern. In R und S folgt unmittelbar auf Gottfried von Strassburg die wohl ursprünglich selbständige Erzählung eines

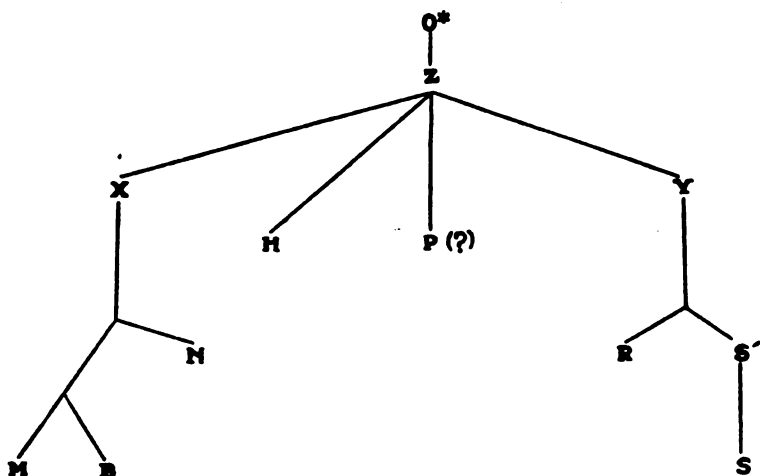
unbekannten Verfassers, die jetzt unter dem Titel *Tristan als Mönch* einen Platz in der mittelhochdeutschen Literaturgeschichte behauptet.¹⁶ Das 2705 Verse zählende Gedicht hat mit der *Tristansage* nur einen sehr losen Zusammenhang und ist inhaltlich gar nicht dazu geeignet, weder als Fortsetzung zu Gottfried noch als Einleitung zu Ulrich zu dienen, so dass der Bearbeiter sich genötigt sah, auf irgendwelche Weise seine Arbeit zu Ende zu führen. Er griff daher in Ulrichs Dichtung soweit nach hinten wie möglich und nahm dessen Erzählung erst von Vers 2855 ff. in sein Machwerk auf. Diese von ihm herübergenommenen Verse enthalten die letzte grosse Episode in Ulrichs Fortsetzung, wo erzählt wird, wie Tristan und Kaedin die Frau des Nampotenis aufsuchen.

Die Hss. R. und S sind für die Textgestaltung von fast gar keiner Bedeutung. Beide wimmeln von sinnlosen Entstellungen des Textes, und an keiner Stelle haben sie den anderen Gruppen gegenüber das Richtige bewahrt. Eine fragliche Ausnahme macht vielleicht die Namensform Gariol statt Gaviol der übrigen Hss. Erstere stimmt mit Eilhart von Oberge überein, wo aber der Name von der Frau des Nampotenis geführt wird. Bloss zufällig ist in R + H das Fehlen des Verses 3098, denn er ist in S (+ MB) vorhanden. Es fehlen in R ferner die Verse 3100, 3152-53, 3660, sowie die letzten 66 Verse des Gedichts, die mit dem Schlussblatt der Handschrift verloren gegangen sind.

Die Vorlage von S bezeichne ich mit S'. R und S haben eine gemeinsame Vorlage Y. Diese ist mit X gar nicht verwandt, und bei der schlechten Überlieferung—S stammt ja aus dem Jahre 1722—sowie im Hinblick auf die Tatsache, dass sie bloss ungefähr ein Viertel des Textes bietet, ist eine Entscheidung über ihre Stellung zu Z, der Vorlage von H (P), kaum mehr möglich.

Somit lässt sich das gegenseitige Verhältnis der verschiedenen Handschriften von Ulrichs *Tristan* graphisch etwa so darstellen:

* Für das Nähere darüber verweise ich auf die oben erwähnte Ausgabe von Paul, sowie auf A. Regis, *Tristan als Mönch*. Strassburger Diss. Wohlauf 1910 und K. Seik, *Metrische Untersuchungen über das mhd. Gedicht Tristan als Mönch*. Diss. Greifswald 1911. Die Stellung, welche das Gedicht in der *Tristansage* einnimmt bespricht W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*. Leipzig 1907, S. 224 f.



Die von mir vorbereitete Neuausgabe von Ulrichs Dichtung stützt sich auf die gesamte Überlieferung. Zum ersten Mal findet sich hier das ganze handschriftliche Material vereinigt und verarbeitet. Die unter dem Texte verzeichneten Lesarten sollen das genauere Studium des Werkes erleichtern, auch dem Forscher als eine sichere Grundlage zu weiteren kritischen Untersuchungen dienen. Gerade in dem Variantenverzeichnis such die Ausgabe ihr Hauptverdienst. Ich habe mich bemüht jede, sogar die unbedeutendste Abweichung vom Texte anzugeben. Und zwar sind nicht nur die Sinn- sondern mit wenigen Ausnahmen auch die Lautvarianten mitgeteilt, um gleichzeitig einen Einblick in die Schreibweise der verschiedenen Handschriften zu gewähren. Um ein nur annähernd vollständiges Bild von der Überlieferung zu gewinnen, war man bis jetzt darauf angewiesen, die bei von Groote und Massmann oft ungenau und unvollständig mitgeteilten Lesarten zusammenzusuchen. Von Groote hat ausser H die Handschriften BNR benützt, Massmann daneben nur M, während von der Hagens Ausgabe lediglich einen Abdruck von H bezeichnet, ohne dass der Herausgeber es für nötig gehalten hätte, sich über seine Quellen mit nur einem Sterbenswörtchen zu äussern.

Von den in Betracht kommenden Handschriften ist mir keine zu Gesicht gekommen. Für H stand mir ein Exemplar der von Groote'schen Ausgabe mit einer sorgfältigen Kollation zu Gebote,

welche von dem verstorbenen A. Reifferscheid zu Anfang des Jahres 1879 angefertigt wurde. Für die Handschriften MBNR durfte ich desselben Gelehrten Vergleichen mit Massmanns Text benützen. Diese Textvergleichen wurden von Reifferscheid als eine Vorarbeit zu einer Neuausgabe von Gottfrieds Tristan gemacht, welche die von O. Jänicke begonnenen Studien zum Abschlusse führend, einen Band von Zachers *Germanistischer Handbibliothek* bilden sollte. Auf der Rückseite des Umschlags von Sievers Heliandausgabe (1878) wurde diese neue Edition in Aussicht gestellt. Für die bereitwillige Überlassung dieses ganzen Materials bin ich der Witwe des Verstorbenen, Frau Prof. Dr. Reifferscheid, zu aufrichtigem Danke verpflichtet, den ich auch hier öffentlich ausdrücken möchte.

Für P konnte ich eine Abschrift Marolds gebrauchen. Dieselbe befindet sich in seinem literarischen Nachlass, der mir zum Zwecke der Herausgabe überlassen worden ist. Die Handschrift S ist die einzige, die ich unberücksichtigt gelassen habe. Wegen einer Abschrift des betreffenden Teils wandte ich mich¹⁷ an die Direktion der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek und erhielt darauf die Nachricht, dass für die Zeit des jetzigen Krieges die Benützung der Handschriftensammlung nicht gestattet sei. Da aber S dem Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts angehört und überdies von sinnlosen Entstellungen und Textverderbnissen wimmelt, so ist dieser Mangel um so leichter zu verschmerzen. Die Gruppe RS ist, wie ich glaube, hinreichend durch R vertreten.

Nach dem Vorausgehenden bleibt über die Einrichtung meiner Ausgabe wenig zu bemerken. Wie in den früheren Ausgaben, liegt selbstverständlich die Hs. H zu Grunde, als die alleinige Vertreterin des vollständigen Textes. Auf dieser Unterlage ruht das Variantenverzeichnis der übrigen Hss. Wegen der anerkannten Vorzüglichkeit von H wurde der Text möglichst konservativ behandelt. Nur an Stellen, wo Falsches unbedingt zu erkennen war oder offenbare Schreibfehler vorlagen, habe ich zu Gunsten einer anderen Handschrift eine Änderung vorgenommen. Eben zahlreich sind aber solche Fälle nicht. Einiges hatte schon Massmann berichtigt, daneben aber ergaben sich mehrere Stellen, wo ich, seinem Texte gegenüber, wieder zur Lesart der Hs. zurückgekehrt bin. Die bereits von Massmann gemachten Besserungen habe ich meist-

¹⁷ Am 25. Oktober 1916.

ens stillschweigend aufgenommen, während an denjenigen Stellen, wo ich von ihm abgewichen bin, dies immer ausdrücklich hervorgehoben worden ist. Um das Auffinden der nach Massmann zitierten Stellen zu erleichtern, habe ich neben einer fortlaufenden Zählung auch die seinige nach Spalte und Vers in Klammern beigefügt.

Für die sachliche und sprachliche Erklärung von Ulrichs Tristan ist bis jetzt fast gar nichts geschehen. Die beigefügten Anmerkungen suchen einerseits die von mir vorgeschlagenen Textänderungen zu rechtfertigen, andererseits zu einem genaueren Verständnis des Textes beizutragen. Den Nachweis, dass Ulrich neben dem Tristan Gottfrieds und den Werken Wolframs von Eschenbach auch die Dichtungen Hartmanns, besonders dessen Iwein, gekannt und ausgebeutet hat, hoffe ich durch die Anmerkungen zu mehreren Stellen erbracht zu haben.¹⁸

III

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|-------|
| | Uns ist ein schade grôz geschehen : | [497] |
| | des mac diz mære ze schaden jehen, | |
| | wan ez beliben ist in nôt, | |
| | sît meister Gotfrit ist tôt, | |
| 5 | der dises buoches begunde. | [5] |
| | er hât sîner tage stunde | |
| | mit kunst erzeiget wol dar an. | |
| | er was ein künsterficher man : | |
| | uns zeigtet sîn getihtē | |
| 10 | vil künstliche geschihete. | [10] |

¹⁸ Nach dem ursprünglichen Plane sollte die vollständige Arbeit einen Band der von W. Uhl herausgegebenen Sammlung *Teutonia* bilden. Da aber der Erscheinungstermin sehr ins Ungewisse hinaufgeschoben werden musste, gedenke ich eine Auswahl aus den wichtigeren Anmerkungen in einem Heft der *Modern Language Notes* demnächst zu veröffentlichen.

1. Und ist ain schade grosz g. *P*, grozer sch. *B*, geschen *M*. 2. dez *H*, Wes mag ditz mere zu schaden ienhen (!) *P*, dese—gien *B*, gein *N*. 3. wan *MBH*, was es (!) *P*. 4. sin *N*, seit maister Gotfrit *P*, godefryt *N*, dot *H*. 5. dises *M*, diz *H*, dis *BNP*, ie beg. *B*. 6. der h. *MB*, sines dages *N*, er hant seiner tage st. (!) *P*. 7. kunste *MB*, m. kunsten erzunet *N*, erzoget *P*, da an *N*. 8. chunste r. *M*, kunstricher *H*, kunsten r. *N*, ein vil kunstiger m. *B*, ain kunstreicher m. *P*. 9. zugent sine *N*, ouch sin *B*, zaiget sein gedichte *P*. 10. chunstelich *M*, kunstlich *B*, kunsteliche richte *N*, ge-

- ez ist eben unde ganz:
kein getichte an sprüchen ist sô glanz,
daz ez von künste gê derfür,
der ez wiget mit wiser kür.
- 15 owê der herzelicher klage [15]
daz im der tôt sîn lebende tage
leider ê der zît zebrach,
daz er diz buoch niht vollesprach!
sît ez alsus nû ist komen
- 20 daz in der tôt hât hin genomen, [20]
sô hân ich mich genomen an,
als ich allerbeste kan,
daz ich diz buoch unz an sîn zil
mit sprüchen vollebringen wil.
- 25 des hât mit flîze mich gebeten [25]
Kuonrât der schenke von Wintersteten,
daz ichz im ze liebe tuo.
herz unde sin, dâ râtet zuo,
daz ich im dran gediene sô
- 30 daz er mînes dienstes werde frô [30]
und im genâde von ir geschehe, [498]
der sîn herze ze frouwen jehe.
wolt ich in lobes rüemen
und mit hôhen sprüchen blüemen,
- 35 als er ez doch gedienet heit, [5]
sîn lop daz würde wol sô breit
daz es genuoge hæten haz.

schichte *P.* 11. es *P.*, ebene *M.*, uff *MH*, gantz *P.* 12. dehein *M.*, is an spruchen *B.*, spruhhen *H.*, kain geticht ist entsprochen ist glantz (!) *P.* 13. ez *fehlt N.*, chunste *M.*, mit kunsten *N.*, von kunsten gee *P.*, der fur (:chur) *M.*, dar vur *BN.* 14. es *P.*, weget *B.*, weiser kür *P.* 15. herzenlichen *M.*, herzelicher *H.*, herzelichen *BN.* 16. im *MH*, sine *MNH*, lebedage *B.*, levedage *N.* 17. zu brach *N.* 18. nih *H.*, vollen spr. *B.* 19. nu ist also *M.*, sint id is nu so kumen *B.*, nu also *N.* 20. hine *M.*, *fehlt BN.* 21. *Absatz M.* 22. so ich *MBN.* 23. biz (bis) *HN*, unze *M.*, uz an *B.* 24. vollbringen (-brennen) *BN.* 25. dez *H.*, das hat (hait) *BN.* 26. Chuonrat d. schenche *M.*, cunrat van wintersteden *B.* 27. 28. *fehlen MBN.* 27. im. 28. ratent. 29. ih *M.*, da an deyne also *N.* 31. unde *M.*, gescheit (:geit) *N.* 32. zu vrouden *N.*, gie *B.* 33. waldich *B.*, wolde ich *N.*, mit love *N.*, ruomen (:bluomen) *M.* 34. unde *M.* 35. 36. *fehlen MBN.* 36. daz] dar. 37.

- ez tuot mit guote nieman baz,
den ich iender erkenne.
- 40 Ir habet eteswenne [10]
wol vernomen waz Tristan
größer arbeit gewan
unde waz Isôten beschach.
Tristan wider sich selben sprach
- 45 "Tristan, hœre, es ist genuoc! [15]
Tristan, lâ den unfuoc,
des diu welt niht ruochet
und doch der sêle fluochet.
Tristan, lâ den unsin
- 50 und tuo die gedanke hin, [20]
die dir dîn heil verkêrent
und gar dîn êre unêrent.
lâ dînem ceheime
sîne Isôte dâ heime,
- 55 dem werden kûnege Marke [25]
und minne die von Karke,
diu dich ze nihte bestât.
herze, sît ez ist dîn rât,
ich wil Isôte fliehen
- 60 und mich zIsôte ziehen: [30]
ich meine die wîzgehanden. [499]
Isôt von Irlanden
muoz nû sîn mînes herzen gast.
diu Minne hât ir swæren last
- 65 ûf mich geleit vil manege stunt." [5]
nû tet er sînem gesellen kunt

des heten lihte genouge (ir genuch *N*) haz *MBN*, ez *H*. 38. id in tuot mit guden *N*, bas *H*. 39. fehlt *MBN*, irgen. 40. Absatz; hant etswenne *H*. 41. 42. *zusammenggezogen*: ir habet wol vernomen waz tristan *M*, ir hat wal v nû (hait wale vernomen *N*) wat tristan *BN*. 41. was. 43. uf was *H*, geschach *MBN*. 44. selve *N*. 45. id is *B*. 46. Tr. fehlt *MBN*, und la (laz *B*) disen ungefuch *MBN*. 47. werlt *H*, werilt *B*, neit in r. *N*, geruchet *B*. 48. unt *M*, inde oych *N*, selen *B*. 49.-52. fehlen *MBN*. 52. unere. 53. laz *B*, dime *HN*. 57. de dir zu neyte *N*. 58. sint id din r. *B*, is dit din *N*, ez] dez *H*. 59. is ich w. *B*. 60. ze *M*, zu *BN*, mich Ysote enziehen *H*, ziehn *B*, zein *N*. 61. Absatz *M*, wîzgeh. *B*. 63. muz ich *B*, miner frouden g. *MBN*. 65. mih *M*, gelaht *B*. 66. sime *HBN*. 67. sinen g. *N*. 68. ey

- sîne ger und sinen muot.
 er sprach "trûtgeselle guot,
 nû wis an triuwen stæte.
 70 gedenke, wes dû mich bæte [10]
 umb isôte die swester dîn.
 nû sich, diu gît mir eseneden pîn.
 ich bin tac unde naht
 allez bedenkende in der aht,
 75 wie ich verdiene daz sî gezeme [15]
 unde mich êlſche neme.
 ich wil bî ir belſben hie."
 "belſben? sône gelebt ich nie
 mê sô rehte lieben tac.
 80 swaz ich leides ie gepflac, [20]
 daz hât mit frôuden ende.
 Tristan, mîne hende
 wil ich dir drumbe bieten.
 wir suln uns beide nieten
 85 maneger wûnneclîcher zît. [25]
 Tristan, swar an dîn wille lît,
 swâ ich mich des kan verstân,
 daz ist allez samt getân."
 "nû lône dir got, dû sprichest wol,
 90 daz ich vil gerne dienen sol. [30]
 nû tuo ein dinc, des ich dich bite,
 (dâ êrest dû dich selben mite)
 daz doch guote fuoge hât:
 habe es dînes vater rât
 95 und dîner muoter: daz ist guot." [35]

drut g. N. 69. wis] sys B, bis N. 72. nu *fehlt* N, giht H, geit B, senden MB. 73.-76. *fehlen* MBN. 73. uff. 76. und. 77. wil du ih belibe bi dir hie (bi ir hey N) MBN. 78. *Absatz* HB, heliben (!) hie so engelebt ich nie H, geselle so geschach mir nie (geschag mir ney N) MBN. 79. mer B, lieber MB, so leyve des ich geyn mach N. 80. swas H, wat N. 81. hât *fehlt* H. 83. ih M, drumbe H. 84. sulen—bede M, nieden B, geneden N. 85. wunnclîchen M, unmechelîchen B. 86. Tr. *fehlt* MBN, wize M, wisze B, wisses N, war MBN. 87. wa N, ih mih M. 88. samt *fehlt* M, dat sal allit ein g. N, allet zehant B. 89. 90. *fehlen* MBN. 91. *Absatz* MBN, nu *fehlt* H, ih dih M, biete H. 92. erest du M, erest tu H, selber B, selve N. 94. habes M, ez dinez H, es *fehlt* B, nim dîns N. 95. und M. 96. vader—

- “mîn vater, mîn muoter hânt den muot
 daz sis sint von herzen geil.
 wie kunde in iemer gröezer heil
 ze dirre welte geschehen?
 100 wol dan, wir suln Îsôte sehen, [40]
 die süezen werden klären, [500]
 diu in ir kindes jâren
 verdienet hât die sœlekeit
 daz ir dîn herze liebe treit
 105 und sî ze frouwen hâst erwelt, [5]
 ir eigenlîchen dich verselt.”
 “nû ganc enwec, sô bîte ich hie,
 und rede wol.” “nû sage mir wie.
 ich spriche allez, daz dû wilt;
 110 keines dienstes mich gein dir bevilt.” [10]
 “dâ sage als ich dir hân gesaget,
 und bite Îsôte die reinen maget
 daz sî mir genædec sî.
 ine wirde niemer leides frî,
 115 ê daz sî mich entleidet [15]
 und von kumber scheidet.”
 Hine gienc dô Kâedîn
 ze sînen gelieben allen drîn,
 dâ er si bî einander vant.
 120 mit fuoge sprach er sâ zehant [20]
 “ich bin durch rât her zuo ziu komen
 und hân Tristandes muot vernomen
 und gar anz ende erkunnet.
 er bit, daz ir im gunnet
 125 Îsôte mîner swester z’ê. [25]
 er giht, er welle iemer mê
 gerne hie bî uns bestân.

muder *N*. 97. Absatz *M*, geil] fro *MBN*. 98.-116. fehlen *MBN*. 98. iemer gröezer. 99. werlt.

102. die. 106. iegelichen. 111. gesagt (: magt). 117. kein Absatz *MBN*, *K*. der gie (geync *N*) do *MBN*. 118. fehlt *MBN*, zu. 119. bî einander] beide *N*, bienander *H*. 120. vugen *BN*, al zeh. *MN*, so zeh. *H*. 121. ih bin dur rat ze iu k. *M*, durch rat zu dir *B*, d. rait zu uch k. *N*, ich bin daher zu iuh k. *H*. 122. ich h. van tristandes munde v. *B*. 123-126. fehlen *MBN*. 125. Ysot min~ sw. ze e. 127. er (he *N*) wil gerne bi uns

- nû suln wir in geniezen lân
 daz er uns wol gedienet heit
 130 und durch uns ritterlichen streit. [30]
 ahf, wâ hât iender ritterschaft
 an prise alsô grôze kraft
 alse diu Tristandes hât!
 in hôhem lobe sîn wurde stât.
 135 nieman sich ime gelichen kan." [35]
 "wol dir, reiner sælec man"
 sprach diu sûeze herzogîn.
 "vil lieber sun Kâedîn,
 sît ez dir wol behaget,
 140 wir suln Isôt die klâren maget [40]
 geben Tristande. [501]
 bestât er in dem lande,
 wir sîn iemer mê genesen
 und muoz Riôl der grâve wesen
 145 mit vorhte under dînem vanen. [5]
 ganc hin unde brinc Tristanen;
 heiz in komen drâte.
 nâch sîn selbes râte
 suln wir im Isôte geben
 150 und iemer, swier gebiutet, leben. [10]
 daz getâne ist daz getâne;
 ich bin in dem wâne,
 biz daz dinc ist ungetân,
 sô mac ez vil wol zegân.
 155 sâ zehant als ez geschiht, [15]
 sône mac ez danne erwinden niht.
 ganc, brinc Tristanen her:
 er vindet alle sîne ger."
 Nâch Tristâne Kâedîn dô gie.

bestan MBN. 128. sulen M, sule N. 129. heit] hat MB. 130. mit man-
 ger riterlichen tat M, m. maniger richlicher gedat B, ritterlicher dait N.
 131.-134. fehlen MBN. 131. wan hat nirgen. 133. als. 134. wurde] wid-
 (!). 135. im M. 136. Absatz BN, reyner N, sælec] suoze MBN. 137.
 sûeze] reine M, die werde B, de gude N. 138. vil fehlt MBN. 139-156.
 fehlen MBN. 143. iemmer. 146. und. 147. trate. 149. gebn (: lebn).
 150. iemmer. 157. nu gench (ganc BN) brinch (in brenge N) tr. her
 MBN. 158. al sine H, sin beger B. 159.-172. fehlen MBN; dafür steht:

- 160 Tristan in frœliche enpfie: [20]
 "sag an guotiu mære;
 daz dû sô lange wære,
 des hât mich verdrozzen.
 hâst in mîn bete entslozzen?"
- 165 wie hânt si enpfangen die?" [25]
 "dane wart mê kein bete nie,
 deiswâr, baz enpfangen.
 Tristan, wol dan, gangen
 dâ dir genâde sol geschehen,
 ist ez als dû mir hâst verjehen."
- 170 "Kâedîn, eist dannoch mê [30]
 danne als ich dir klagete ê."
 mit einander sî dô giengen.
 Tristanen wol enpfiegen
 der wirt diu wirtîn und Isôt.
- 175 Isôte ir muoter dâ gebôt, [35]
 daz sî Tristanen gruozte
 und sich sîm herzen suozte.
 "daz tuon ich gerne" sprach Isôt.
- 180 "dolt er von mir dekeine nôt, [40]
 die bûeze ich im vil gerne, [502]
 so ich buoze gelerne."
 Dô sprach diu herzoginne sân
 "saget an, her Tristan,
- 185 sol diu rede stæte sîn, [5]
 als uns sagete Kâedîn,
 sô gebe wirs iu mit guoter guns.
 ir müezet aber belîben hie bî uns
 iemer unz an iuwern tôt."

do (du *B*) tr. dise rede vernam er gie mit k. dan (van K. der zu im quam *B*) *MB*, do dese mere vernam tr. he geync mit K. dan *N*. 161. *Absatz*, gûte. 162. tu, 164. hastu in mine bet. 171. eist] ist. 172. claget. 173. ander *H*, dô]wider *M*, da wider *B*, beide si weder geyngen *N*. 174. si wol enpf. *B*. 175. uñ *M*. 176. de muter ysoten do *N*. 178. unde—sinem *M*, sime *HB*, sûzete *H*. 179.-182. *fehlen MBN*. 180. dekein. 183. *Absatz BN*, done *H*, herzogine *M*, herzogin *M*, zu hant *N*. 184. sagt *H*, nu saget *B*. 185. stæte] also bestanden *B*. 186. saget *MB*, sade *N*. 187. geven wir *BN*, uch si *N*, gunst (: unst) *B*. 188. so must ir *N*, aber *MBH*, fehlt *N*, hie bliven *B*, mit uns *N*. 189. *fehlt MBN*, iemer biz. 190. 191. *zusammen-*

- 190 "ich wil gerne nemen Isôt [10]
und iemer êlîchen haben."
"herre, sô lât den eit iu staben"
sprach diu herzoginne kluoc.
daz heiltuom man dar truoc.
- 195 dar tîfe swuor sich Tristan [15]
Isôte zeim êlîchen man.
Tristan schimpffîchen sprach,
dâ von ze lachene in geschach
"juncfrouwe, welt ir nemen mich?"
- 200 "spræche ich nû, herre, nein ich; [20]
daz wære mînem vater zorn,
des ist ez bezzer verborn:
swaz wil mîn vater, daz wil ich."
vater und muoter des fröuten sich.
- 205 diu wirtîn sprach ze Tristan [25]
"sun und tohter, ir sult gân
iuch sament an ein bette legen:
von schulden wir wol iemer megen
von herzen alle wesen frô."
- 210 Nider leiten sî sich dô [30]
Tristan und Isôte.
nû segente sî genôte
diu reine herzoginne
und bevalch sî der minne,
- 215 der wâren minne unde ouch der, [35]
der manec herze ist in ger.
dâ mite gienc sî von in zwein.

gezogen: frouwe ich wil gerne ysote (ysoten *B*) haben (haven *BN*) *MBN*.
190. *Absatz* *B*. 191. iemmer. 192. lât] laist *N*, uch den eit *B*. 193. her-
zogine *M*, -innen *B*, chlucoc *M*. 194. heilctoum *M*. *Nach 194 haben MBN*
folgende zwei Verse: diz dînc (dat dinc *BN*) wart zeinem ende (zu eyne
ende *N*, zu ende *B*) braht als sis (si id *BN*) heten gedaht (vor gesacht *N*).
195. 204. *fehlen MBN*. 195. uff. 197. schlimlichen (!).

201. mime. 205. *Absatz MBN*. 207. samt *H*, samen *N*, bete *M*. 208.
imer *M*, mugen *H*. 209. inde van h. *N*, v. h. iemmer w. *H*, w. alle *B*, alle
fehlt N. 210. *kein Absatz MBN*, lachten *N*. 211. *Absatz H*. 212. nû
fehlt N, segende *B*, saynden si genugen *N*. 214. unde bevalh *M*, beval *N*,
enphlac *H*. 215. 216. *fehlen MBN*, 217. hey mede *N*. 218. in ein *MH*,

- sî wände dâ würden zwei einein;
 nû beliben si unvereinet.
 220 daz wart sît wol bescheinet. [40]
 Tristan der küene was verzaget, [503]
 daz er die wol gejärten maget
 allez bî im ligen lie
 und enruorte si weder dort noch hie;
 225 er lie sî fremdeclîche ligen. [5]
 Îsôt, der er sich hâte verzigen,
 diu kam im wider in den sin.
 ich wæne sî sante ze boten an in
 daz wunderlîche minnentranc.
 230 manecvalt wart sîn gedanc: [10]
 er gedâhte hin unde her.
 nû was vil gar sînes herzen ger
 vil stæte zallen stunden
 nâch Îsôte der blunden.
 235 hie zeigete aber frou Minne [15]
 ir verlust und ir gewinne,
 ir unstæte und ir stæte.
 zwiu welt ir daz siz tæte,
 daz sî Tristanden nôte
 240 zweier hande Îsôte? [20]
 ez schuof ir untriuwe;
 si ist gerne iteniuwe.
 ir stæten friunt die alten
 der kan sî niht behalten

zwey eyn *N*. 219. si *MBH*, neyn si bleven u. *N*, unvereint *M*. 220. erscheynet *N*. 222. getagten *M*, wal gedane *BN*. 223. allet *B*, allit *N*, liegen *H*. 224. und fehlt *MBN*, er ruorte (rurt *B*) si *MB*, he in ruyrte si w. da *N*, enrurte si *H*. 225. liez *B*, lies *N*, -lichen *MBNH*. 226. sich fehlt *N*, hete *M*. 227. den] sinen *N*. 228. ze fehlt *B*. 229. daz] der *B*, den *N*, minnen trano *MBNH*. 230. vil m. *N*, manichveldich *B*. 231. er dâhte hin und (uñ *M*) her *MBN*, er gedachte hin er gedachte her *H*. 232. vil fehlt *B*, sines *M*, sins *H*. 233. vil stæte fehlt *B*, ze a. *M*, zu a. *N*, hin zu a. *B*. 235. zeige *H*, zeigt *B*, hey zunte *N*, fro *M*, vrauwe *N*. 236. gelust *MBN*. 237. Absatz *M*. uñ *M*, und *H*. 238. zwei wnder *H*, zwei weldit dat si id t. *B*, wey wolt ir *N*. 240. zweiger *M*, mit z. h. *B*, zweier *H*. 242. iht niuwe *H*, die gerne an ir is nuwe *B*, alzyt nuwe *N*. 243. Absatz *BN*, staten *M*, stede *BN*. 244. diechan *M*, die k. *B*, sie *H*. 245. und]

- 245 und enbehaltet ouch niht die jungen. [25]
mit disen wandelungen
lebete ie frou Minne.
swer rehte sich versinne
der füege wie er ir entrinne
- 250 und minne die wären minne [30]
diu dâ niemer zergât
und ein vil stæte gemüete hât.
Tristan gedâhte "owê, Isôt,
waz wonders was, daz mir gebôt
- 255 daz mich des ie gezam, [35]
daz ich ein ander Isôt genam?
Isôt, dû bist mîn Isôt.
Isôt, ich was an triuwen tôt,
Isôt, do ich dich verkûte
- 260 und ein ander Isôt trûte. [40]
Isôt, für wâr, ich wil dich hân: [504]
dû hâst mir liebes vil getân
und erliten durch mich grôze nôt.
ich weiz wol dû bist diu Isôt,
- 265 die ich ze rehte haben sol [5]
und wirt mir mit dir noch vil wol:
dû list mir in dem herzen.
owê der herzensmerzen,
die ich nâch dir dulde!
- 270 wie gewinne ich dîne hulde? [10]
sô dû vernimst diz mære,

si *N*, unde behalt *M*, behelt *BN*, enbehaltet *H*. 246. disen zwein w. *MBN*.
247. lebt ie vro *M*, levede *BN*. 248. swer] we *N*, sih *H*, vorsinne *B*. 249.
der sehe wier *M*, der sich wie er *B*, de sey wie he *N*, wie er ir *H*. 250.
und~ *M*, ware *BN*. 251. nimer *M*, zugât *N*. 252. unde *M*, eyne v. st.
minne h. *N*. 253. kein Absatz *MN*. gedaht *B*. 254. was daz] wast dat *N*.
255. mih des wonders ie g. *MB*, das mir dat ey in quam *N*, ie fehlt *H*.
256. eyne *N*, nam *MBN*. 257. mine *N*. 259. Isôt fehlt *N*, do] e *B*, ver-
chute *M*, verkude *N*. 260. und~ eine *M*, eyne *N*. 261. haben *H*. 263. und
fehlt *MBN*, durch mich erliten (erliden *B*) *MB*, d. m. hais du erleden grois
noît *N*. 264. diu fehlt *B*. 266. unde *M*, dir] ir *H*. 267. mir fehlt *MBN*,
in minem h. *M*, an (in *B*) mime h. *BN*. 267.-268. umgestellt *B*. 268. des
herze s. *MBN*, herzen smerzen *H*. 269. Absatz *M*, den *MBN*, dir] ir *B*.
271. vernimest *M*, vernemes diese *B*, vernemest dese *N*. 272. wirstu *MN*,

- sô wirst dû mir gevære
und von rehte gehaz.
Îsôt, dû weist für wâr daz
275 ine mac dîn niht vergezzen. [15]
Îsôt, dû hâst besezzen
mîn herze alterseine.”
Nû gedâhte diu maget reine
“ich wæne mîn friunt Tristan
280 niht mit juncfrouwen kan; [20]
daz hân ich rehte erfunden.
hât er Îsôt die blunden
gehabet alsô sîne tage,
benamen sost er der minne ein zage.
285 zwære ich hân es niht für guot. [25]
wie man getageten megeden tuot,
daz ist mir dicke vor gesaget.
wâ ze wîbe wirt ein maget
des tet er niht, als ichs enstân.
290 er wil mir sanfte mite gân: [30]
er wænet lîhte ich sî ze kranc.”
diz was ir beider gedanc.
dô sprach der werde Tristan
“Îsôt, wir suln ûf stân
295 und gên dâ die liute sîn.” [35]
“gerne, lieber herre mîn.
swaz ir tuot, daz ist guot;
iuwer muot daz ist mîn muot.”
“nû lône dir got, süeze Îsôt.”
300 Îsôt, wart des wortes rôt [40]
und kam dâ von in eine schame. [505]
ez schuof ir magetlicher name,

gefere *N*. 273. reht *M*, van rehte *BN*, mit herzen *H*. 274. nu wize reht (zu rehte *B*) das *MBN*. 275. ich nemach *MB*, in m. *N*. 277. alter seine *M*, alleyn *N*. 278. kein Absatz *MN*, gedaht *M*, dachte *N*, mag (!) *H*. 279. Absatz *N*. 281.-292. fehlen *MBN*. 284. binamen soist. 285. wur g. 288. magt. 294. sulen *M*. 295. unde *M*, gain *N*. 297. wat *N*. 298. ur wille *N*, daz] der *M*, fehlt *BN*, is ouch *B*, min selbes *M*.

301. und~ *M*, quam *H*. 302. dat schuf *BN*, megetlicher *B*, machtumlicher *N*. 303. ein] in *N*, wench *M*, wenich *BN*. 304. weder si *B*, wat si

- daz si ein wēnec weinde.
wederz si dā mite meinde,
305 daz rātet under disen zwein: [5]
umbez jā oder umbez nein?
umbez nein, daz ist mīn wān.
sī woltez jā vil gerne hān;
sī zurnde, deiz ir nieman bōt.
310 diu reine sūeze maget īsōt [10]
slouf in wīpfīch gewant;
ir houbet sī vil schōne bant
durch den gewonfīchen site.
Nū giengen si einander mite,
315 als zwei gelieben solden. [15]
die liute wānen wolden,
dā wære geschehen des niht enwas.
Tristan was īsōte ein gas
und īsōt Tristāne.
320 diu sūeze wol getāne [20]
was sō fier und alsō kluoc
daz si ir leit sō schōne truoc
daz des nieman wart gewar,
ob ir iht hin zir friunde war.
325 Tristan daz vil lange treip [25]
und allez diu maget maget beleip.
nū gedāhte diu maget īsōt
“ez ist mir ein michel nōt
daz ich bī einem manne lige
330 und niht der site der dinge pflige, [30]
als man und wīp ie pflāgen,
so si bī einander lāgen.”
Eines nāhtes sī gedāhte
daz sī dā vollebrāhte:

N, mit *MH*. 305. rait an *N*. 306. oder *MBH*, um dat n. *B*, umbe dat—
umbe dat *N*, umbz—umbz *H*. 307. umbe dat *BN*, umz *H*, wān fehlt *B*.
308. wan si *B*, wolde dat *N*, hān] sin *B*. 309-320. fehlen *MBN*. 312.
houbt. 321. doch was si phier (kusch *B*, so fin so *N*) und als k. *MBN*,
fīer unde *H*. 322. daz siz als *M*, si id allet sch. verdruoch *B*, dat syt also
N. 323. dat id *N*, dez *H*. 324. obe *M*, hin fehlt *HN*, zu ir *H*, zu vriunde
B, zu irme v. *N*. 326. unde *M*, beleip *MH*, allez dat die mait mait beleif *B*,
in de maget allit *N*. 327-332. fehlen *MBN*. 333. Absatz *MBN*, eines *H*.

- 335 st sprach " herre Tristan, [35]
 dû bist ein bescheiden man,
 wie gebârestû alsus?
 ich enpfie nie umbevanc noch kus
 nie von dînem lîbe;
- 340 swaz man tuon sol mit wîbe [40]
 des bin ich alles von dir frî. [506]
 von welhen schulden daz st,
 Tristan, daz ruoch mir sagen."
 "frouwe, ich hân ze kurzen tagen
- 345 gelobet wider den rîchen got [5]
 durch sîn gewelteclîch gebot,
 swenn ich ein wîp næme,
 daz ich niemer zuo der kæme
 innerthalp eime jâre.
- 350 ich entuon dirz niht ze vâre. [10]
 swenne daz jâr sich endet,
 mîn lîp dîn swære swendet."
 "nû hære, lieber Tristan:
 vil dicke ich daz vernomen hân
- 355 daz ein man und sîn wîp [15]
 hânt zwô sêle und einen lîp;
 ez solte wesen under in zwein
 ein gar vereinetez ein:
 nû sîn wir unvereinet.
- 360 dîn herze mich niht meinet [20]
 als ez von rehte solde:
 ez ist diu blunde Îsolde,

334. dâ] och MBN, do H. 335. owe herre MB, owe Tr. N. 336. nu bist ein als hofsch m. M, nu bis du e. so hobischer m. B, bescheiden] also hoveschz N. 337. gebarstu M, gebarest tu H, geberes B, gebeirs du sus N. 338. enpfîenc H, umbvanc BH. 339. nie] noch HB, fehlt N, dime BNH, suszen l. N. 340. sol toun M, wat m. sal doyn N. 343. daz] dar H, ruoche MB, 344. Absatz B, ze] in B. 346. gewaltclîch M, gewaltich B, geweldich N. 347. swenne M, swanne HB, wanne N. 348. nimer M, fehlt N, neit in queme N, queme H. 349. inner halp einem M, inbinnen eime B, binnen eyne N, eime H. 350. ich entuon MH, in t. N, sware HB. 351. wanne dat N, so dat B. 352. dine MNH, die B, verewendet B, wendet N. 353. vil l. B, lieber H. 354. wey dicke N. 355. uñ M. 358. vil g. B, vereintz M, vereynet N. 359. unvereint M. 360. als din h. m. in meynet N, meint M. 361. von] ze MH, zu N, van B. 362. die H. 363. die H. 364. mistait (!) N.

- diu diz gebot geboten hât,
daz dinen êren missestât.
- 365 ich hân daz nein und lige dâ, [25]
sô ist si verre und hât daz jâ.
sint ungelîche jâ und niht,
gerne wil ich lîden die geschiht
unz an daz gesprochen zil.
- 370 mit fîfze ich ez dar heln wil, [30]
daz ez niemer wirt gesaget,
biz daz daz jâr sich hât vertaget;
biz dar wil ich ez lâzen sîn."
- Der herzoge und diu herzogîn
- 375 die ahten eine reise [35]
durch banekens eise,
niuwan durch kurzewîle,
dâ bî in einer mîle;
sî wolten birsen unde jagen.
- 380 diz hiez er sînen friunden sagen [40]
daz sî dar bekæmen [507]
die fröude mit im næmen.
nû kam geriten durch fröude dar
manec ritterlîchiu schar
- 385 von wîben und von mannen. [5]
dô sî riten von dannen,
ritter unde frouwen,
sî muosen durch ein ouwen
gemeinliche riten

365.-368. *fehlen MBN*. 365. diz—liege. 366. diz. 367. ungelich. 369. aber unze an din bantez z. *M*, aber biz an din genanten (benennet *N*) z. *BN*, biz *H*. 370. ichez d. helen *M*, icht *N*, dar *fehlt B*, verhelen *B*. 371. *Absatz M*, gesagt (: vertagt) *H*. 372. unze daz jar *M*, bis dat jar bedaget *B*, bis dat jar wirt bedaget *N*. 373. ichez *M*, icht, *N*, dar] dahin *H*. 374. *kein Absatz MN*, uñ *M*, die kunegin *H*. 375. de dachten *N*. 376. ban-chenes *M*, banekens *B*, bankenes *N*, panigens *H*. 377. niuwan] und *B*, niet wan d. kurzewilen (: milen) *N*. 379. pirsen uñ *M*, jagn (: sagn) *H*. 380. dat h. *B*. 381. chamen (: namen) *M*, dare quemen *BN*, bequemen *H*. 382 mit ime die vroude *B*, vernemen *N*. 383. *Absatz N*, quam *H*. durc *M*. 384. wunchlichiu *M*, wunneclichen *BN*, riterliche *H*. 385. uñ *M*. 386. do reden si *N*. 387. uñ *M*, und *H*, die r. und die f. *B*. 388. musten d. eine *BN*, muzen *H*. 389. -lichen *MB*. 390. sinen w. *H*. 391. *Absatz B*, reine]

- 390 einen wec niht ze wîten. [10]
 nû reit diu maget reine
 in der enge aleine
 mit verdâhtem muote.
 diu reine frouwe guote
- 395 bedâhte ir nâhe gēnde leit, [15]
 daz sî ze allen zîten leit.
 ûf dem wege stuont ein hol:
 daz hol was gar wazzers vol.
 Isôten pferit trat dar in,
- 400 daz ez unsælec müeze sîn! [20]
 daz wazzer spranc ir under die wât,
 biz hin dâ daz süeze stât.
 des begunde Isôte lachen
 und flnochen doch der lachen.
- 405 mit disen worten daz geschach; [25]
 wider sich selben sî dô sprach
 "ich hân ersehen in kurzer frist
 daz diz wazzer küener ist
 danne der küene Tristan,
- 410 der noch daz ellen nie gewan [30]
 daz er mich geruorte ie
 weder dort oder hie,
 als daz wazzer hât getân.
 an mînem lîbe ein dinc ich hân,
- 415 daz ist ein heinfchiu stat; [35]
 dâ hin gie nie mannes pfat.
 vil gerne man ez möhte pfaden
 ob den enkeln, ze berge den waden;
 bî der hûffe, ob dem knie

eine *B.* 392. in deme wege *B.* einge al eine *H.* 393. mit gar vordahtem *m.* *B.* 394. diu junchfrowe g. *MN.* die werde juncfr. *B.* die *H.* 395. 396. *fehlen MBN.* 398. hol *fehlt MBN.* gar *fehlt N.* van wasser *N.* 399. pharit *M.* pherit *H.* pert *N.*

400. ez] iemer *H.* er *B.* muze *H.* 401. *Absatz M.* spranch *M.* 402. bis hin da dat ir wist wale steit *N.* 403. begund *B.* 404. inde vluchde der *N.* 406. so *H.* do *BN.* 407. er sehen *H.* 408. kuner *H.* 409. dane *M.* dan *N.* 410. de koneyt ney *N.* 411. mih geruort *M.* gerürte *B.* 412. weder da noch hey *N.* 413-431. *fehlen MBN.* 414. mime lip. 417. mohte. 418. obn enkelen. 419. huf. 421. glust. 424. arm und. 425. wolter daz ers.

- 420 die man ez gerne griffen ie; [40]
 sî jehent ez sterke den gelust. [508]
 ern geruorte nie deweder brust;
 mînen lîp er nie an sich getwanc,
 arm unde bein gar âne schranc.
- 425 zwiu wolt er daz erz tæte, [5]
 dêr mich sô swache hæte
 daz er des spils begunde nie,
 des man und wîp doch spilten ie?
 ich wæne manz vinsterlingen tuot.
- 430 ez liebet lîp und hoehet muot, [10]
 jehent sî; eist mir unrekant.”
 Dô sprach Kâedîn zehant
 “swester, waz hâstû gesaget
 und mit herzen sô beklaget?”
- 435 “bruoder, ich hân niht gereit; [15]
 sprach ich iht, deist ungeseit.”
 “swester, dû muost mir ez sagen:
 ich hân gehoeret wol dîn klagen.”
 “bruoder, ich ensage es niht.”
- 440 “ob mirs dîn munt niht vergiht, [20]
 sô ist iemer gescheiden
 diu friuntschaft under uns beiden.”
 “Kâedîn, ich sage dirz ê:
 mir tuot herzelîche wê
- 445 daz mîn herre Tristan [25]
 solte sîn mîn êman
 und mîn reht mir sô versaget
 daz ich beliben bin noch maget.”
 “swester, mit herzen ich daz klage

427. spiles. 432. kein Absatz MNH. 432. erweitert: dise rede horte K. do sprach er zer (zu der BN) swester sin MBN. 433. Absatz H. gechlaget MBN. 434. ez muoz mir werden gesaget MBN. 435. Absatz BN, bereit] gesacht N. 436. sp. aber ih M, sprach si aber id is dir ungeseit B, deist ungeseit] ich was verdacht N. 437. swester fehlt MBN, mirz benamen s. MBN. 438. gehort B. 439. Absatz B, ine sage ez n. H, dirz n. MBN. 440. Absatz B, obe M, ob ez H. 441. imer M, iemmer H, iemerme B. 443 Absatz B, dirz] dirt N. 444. mir] mit H, -lihen MBN. 445. here her N, her H. 446. ist ein so gevuoge (so gar g. B) man MBN. 447. ufi (he N) mir min r. MBN, so verre v. N. 448. noch] eyne N. 449. Absatz BN.

- war umbe hâst dû daz getân,
 also îsôt hât gesaget?
 480 si giht, si sî noch ein maget. [20]
 dar umbe bin ich dir niht holt.
 für wâr dû gelouben solt,
 daz ez wesen muoz dîn tôt.”
 Tristan sprach “deist âne nôt;
 485 ob dû mich ernalüegest [25]
 oder mir iht hazzes trüegest,
 ein dinc sprich ich âne vâr:
 ein îsôt hân ich, diu ist sô klar,
 daz ûf der erde mê kein wîp
 490 hât sô wûnneclichen lîp. [30]
 la bêle mû avenanz.
 sî hât an schœne des lobes kranz
 gesetzet ûf mit werdekeit;
 ich lîde nâch ir manec leit.
 495 ei ist ein kûeginne. [35]
 mit herzen ich sî minne
 âne mâze manege stunt.
 sî hât schoener mînen hunt
 dan mich dîn swester habe îsôt.
 500 Kâedîn, tuo mir den tôt, [40]
 habe ich umbe ein wort gelogen. [510]
 ir lîp an schœne ist unbetrogen:
 ich wolte, dû hætes sî gesehen.”
 “Tristan, zwære daz muoz geschehen.
 505 ich wil sehen gerne [5]
 dîner sunnen morgensterne
 und dîner ougen meienschîn.”

Absatz N, liebe *H*. 478. war umb has tu *H*, haistu *N*. 479. als *BNH*.
 480. si sâit *N*, ein *fehlt BN*. 481. umb *HB*. 482. du dat *N*. 484. *Absatz B*, daz ist *H*, dat is *BN*, ayn n. *N*. 486. iht hazzes] ouch haz *B*. 487. vare
 (: dare) *H*. 488. eine *BN*. 489. erden me kein (ney geyn *N*) *BN*. 490.
 gewan so wunneclichen l. *BN*. 491. la ebele *H*, labele mu avenianz *B*, labele
 in vavenians *N*. 492. an schoynden den l. *N*. 494. na irre minnen l. *N*.
 495 eine *BNH*. 498. *hât]* helt *N*, minnen *B*. 499. danne *H*.

500. mir an den t. *N*. 501. umb *H*, umb ein har *B*. 502. schoynden *N*.
 503. wolde hedestu *N*, hates *H*. 504. *Absatz B*, zwære *fehlt*, id m. *B*.
 505. *Absatz N*, wil gerne sien von verre *B*, wil si *N*. 506. dins herzen *BN*,

- "lieber geselle Kâedîn,
 sâ zehant sô daz geschiht,
 510 dîn munt Isôte vil schoene giht." [10]
 "ir schoene ich gerne sehen wil.
 nû gip der wârheit schiere ein zil,
 ob dû vor mir genesen wilt."
 "sô sî daz zil dâ hin gezilt
 515 über sehs wochen oder ê. [15]
 ob ich der wârheit abe gê,
 sô sî ze toeten dir gegeben
 mîn vil lebelîchez leben."
 "Tristan, des dunket mich genuoc.
 520 swaz dir mîn herze hazzes truoc, [20]
 der hât mit friuntschaft ende."
 Isôt diu wîzgehende
 was Tristâne niht ze holt
 daz er für sî dekeine Isolt
 525 in sînem herzen hæte baz. [25]

* *
*

IV

1 ff. In den einleitenden Versen stellt der Dichter, nachdem er den Tod seines Vorgängers, des Meisters Gottfrieds von Strassburg, beklagt, dessen unvollendet gebliebene Dichtung er auf das höchste preist, sein Verhältnis zu dem vom ihm übernommenen Werke dar. Der Aufgabe, die Erzählung von Tristan und Isolde zu einem befriedigenden Abschluss zu führen, habe er sich auf Wunsch Konrads des Schenken von Wintersteten unterzogen,

m. sterre *N*. 508. *Absatz* *B*. 509. sâ *fehlt* *BN*. 510. schonen *B*, schoyn-
 den *N*. 511. schoynde *N*. 512. nû *fehlt* *BN*, gibe *H*, gif *BN*. 513. van
 mir *B*. 514. *fehlt* *H*, so si de zyt *N*. 515. ower seis wechen *N*. 516. war-
 heide *B*, ane g. *N*. 517. si vor dot (doit *N*), *BN*, gegeben (: lebn) *H*.
 518. lobelichez *B*, levendes *N*. 519. *Absatz* *HB*. 520. wat *N*. 521. dat
 have *BN*, vriunschaft (!) *H*. 522-574. *fehlen* *BN*; dafür steht: so (of *N*)
 sich dese rede verende als ich id rehte han (zu rehte han *N*) vernumen
 binnen des was tristande (Tristan ein bode *N*) kumen ein bode van der
 kunegin (v. d. vil suzen k. *N*) da er (he *N*) was und kahedin (in Keydin
N) ein (eynen *N*) brief bot er im (boit he eme *N*) in die hant dar an er
 (he *N*) geschrieven vant. 525. hercen.

wodurch sich dieser die Gunst der Geliebten zu erwerben hoffe. Über formelhafte Elemente in den Eingängen zu alt- und mittelhochdeutschen Gedichten vgl. Ritter, *Die Einleitungen der altdutschen Epen*. Diss. Bonn 1908; speziell über Ulrich von Türrheim S. 76 f.

2. *jehen* c. Gen. und Prädikat + *ze*, 'dafür erklären, halten.' Parz. 497, 24 *balde er min ze bruoder jaoh*; Wolfr. Wh. 158, 25 *getorst ich ir ze swester jehen*; 2. Büchl. 259 *des emvelle ich mir ze heile jehen*; das. 106 *des muos ich ze unsalden jehen*; Greg. 3253 *ze solden si des jâhen*; vgl. ferner unten zu 32.

4. Der Titel '*meister*,' den Gottfried bei den Epigonen stets führt, sowie das Fehlen eines Wappens auf dem Bilde des Dichters in der grossen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift, werden allgemein als ein Beweis für seine nicht-adlige Herkunft angesehen. Hartmann und Wolfram dagegen, werden fast ausnahmslos mit dem ihnen zukommenden '*herre*' bezeichnet.

6. *siner tage stunde* = die Zeit seines Lebens. Vgl. Iw. 23 f. *swemmer sine stunde* (= seine Zeit) *nicht das bewenden kunde*. *stunde* ist in derartigen Ausdrücken wohl als Plural zu fassen. Darauf erwartet man statt *erzeiget* eher etwa *gewant* oder *geleit*, (vgl. Armer Heinr. 20). Ulrich hat die beiden ihm vorschwebenden Ausdrücke 1) *sine stunde* (*mit kunst*) *daran gewant*, und 2) *sine kunst daran erzeiget* verschmolzen zu *sine stunde . . . daran erzeiget*.

8. *künsterich* fasse ich, gegen frühere Herausgeber, als Kompositum; vgl. Wb. 1, 816b, 2, 1, 688b, Lexer 1, 1781.

10. *geschicht*, stf. 'Eigenschaft.'

11. *eben unde ganz*, 'glatt und vollkommen.' Häufiger steht *eben unde sleht*, z. B. G. Trist. 4659 *ein rede ensi ebene unde sleht*; Parz. 12, 26, Walther 30, 28.

12. Das Adj. *glanz* mit Präp. belegt sonst nur Engelh. 4715 *glanzer an êren*.

13. *von künste derfür gûn*, 'an Kunst übertreffen.'

14. *der*, 'wenn einer, wenn jemand.' *wegen*, stv. 'an Wert anschlagen, schätzen,' auch unten 3728. *kûr*, stf. hier etwa 'Prüfung'; vgl. Barl. 131, 47 *hier an gedenke in wîser kûr*.

16. Unten 1832 *alle mine lebende tage*; MF. 180, 31 *kæm aber iemer mir ein lebender tac*; MSH. 1, 11 b. *ich wil nâch ir hulde ringen alle mine lebender tage*. Wegen der Variante in BN siehe Wb. 3, 5b, Lexer 1, 1849.

21. Ähnlich heisst es H. Trist. 10 *und hân mich dooh gemumen an zu volbringen dia mer*.

22. Vgl. G. Trist. 4195, 6680, 7323, 11130, 13463, 14895.

26. Konrad von Wintersteten, ein Bruder des Minnesängers Ulrichs von Wintersteten, ist 1222 Schenk geworden. Seinen um 1243 erfolgten Tod beklagt unser Dichter im Eingang seines Rennewart. *Bruoder tût dîrt mir grôze swære*, heisst es ferner in einem schönen Liede bei Minor, *Ulrich von Wintersteten*. Wien 1882, S. 65 f. Konrad war ein eifriger Pfleger der Kunst und an seinem Hof hielten sich mehrere der bedeutendsten Dichter seiner Zeit auf, darunter die beiden Epiker Ulrich von Türrheim und Rudolf von Ems, sowie die Lyriker Gottfried von Neifen und Burchard von Hohenfels. Vgl. Busse, S. 6 ff.

27. *ze liebe*, 'zu Gefallen.' Parz. 609, 2 *welt ir daz ze liebe tuon*.
32. Vgl. oben zu Vers 2. Iw. 5190 *sin herse . . . ir ouch ze vrouwen jach*; MF. 208, 24 *ichn gerte nihtes mē, wan müese ich ir als ē ze vrouwen jehen*; MSH. 2, 40b *daz si mēn ze vriunde jehē*; das. 41b *wil si mēn ze vriunde jehen*.
33. Über den Gen. *lobes* (in lobender Weise, mit Lobesworten) vgl. Paul, *Mhd. Gramm.* §§ 256, 262, 266. Es scheinen die hier besprochenen Kategorien in einander überzugehen, so dass im einzelnen Falle oft eine mehrfache Auffassung möglich ist; vgl. ferner unten zu Vers 560.
34. *blüemen*, swv. 'preisen, verherrlichen.'
35. Wegen der Form *heit* vgl. Weinhold, *Alem. Gramm.* § 374.
39. Statt *iender* hat H, mit Ausnahme von 1646 und 1965, das gleichbedeutende mitteldeutsche *iergen*.
40. In den Versen 18409 ff. erzählt Gottfried von Straasburg wie Tristan Kornwall und den Hof Markes endgültig verlässt. Nachdem er ein halbes Jahr in 'Almanje' verbracht, fährt er durch die Normandie wieder nach Parmenie in die Heimat, wo er von den Söhnen Ruals, seines ehemaligen Pflegevaters, liebevoll empfangen wird. Schliesslich dringt ihm die Kunde zu, wie in dem Herzogtum Arundel, das zwischen 'Britanje und Engellant' liegt, Krieg geführt wird, und er beschliesst dahin zu reisen um bei dem Herzog Jovelin Kriegsdienste zu leisten. Dieser hat zwei Kinder, eine Tochter 'Isöt als blanche main' und einen Sohn 'Kædin li frains' genannt. Hier kommt er nicht als ein Fremder an, denn *herre und gesinde empfiengen in, als man ze nôt den biderben sol: si erkanden in von sage wol* (18730 f.).
43. *was Isöten beschach* bezieht sich wohl auf den langen Monolog bei Gottfried 18495-18604.
44. Vgl. G. Trist. 18494 *ir herze wider sich selben sprach*.
48. *fluochen* mit Dat. auch 404; ferner 2. Büchl. 113 *mir hât der Wunsch gefluochet*.
56. Vgl. G. Trist. 18724 f. *von Parmente fuor er sê, hin wider Arundêle gegen einem kastêle . . . daz was Karke genant*.
57. *diu dich ze nihte bestât*, 'die dir fremd, nicht verwandt ist, (die du also lieben darfst)' v. Groote im Wb. zu seiner Ausgabe unter *bestân*. Sonst bedeutet *mich bestât*, 'mich geht an, mir kommt zu,' z. B. G. Trist 12323 *daz uns ze nihte bestât*.
- 59 f. In dem zu Vers 43 erwähnten Monolog heisst es: *nu weiz ich doch vil wol, daz ir von iuwerem lebene ziehet, swenne ir Isolde fliehet; wan iuwer leben daz bin ich*.
63. Wegen der Form *gas* (= *gast*) vgl. zu Vers 187; im übrigen Wig. 11577 *diu freude was ir herzen gast*; Iw. 3563 *alsus was er ein selbes gast*; unten 980 *nooh ist ir lip mînes lîbes gas (: was)*.
64. Parz. 219, 20 *minne mangels nôt, lestet âf mich sôlhen last*; das. 70, 25 *ein swærer last*.
68. *trûtgeselle*, swm. 'lieber Geselle, Freund.' Parz. 650, 9 *trûtgeselle mîn*; das. 719, 16; Walther 119, 12, wo der Dichter sich selbst anredet *mîn trûtgeselle von der Vogelweide*.

78. Das überflüssig wiederholte *hie* habe ich im Anschluss an Lachmann, zu Iw. 1744, gestrichen. Ebendasselbst zitiert Haupt Wolfr. Wh. 179, 4 'beräten?' sprach der markts, was auf die Ansage 'des wil ich mich beräten' folgt. Über *beliben* im Sinne von 'hie beliben,' vgl. Wilmanns zu Walther 13, 7.

82 f. Lobges. 1, 6 *biute mir vil schiere dine hant*; G. Trist. 15679 *et bôt ir herze unde ir hant*; das. 15961 *er bôt im triuwe unde hant*; Wolfr. Wh. 146, 1 *ouwe der missewende, daz ich mine hende swischen die iuwern ie gebôt*! Der Ausdruck 'einem die hende bieten' hat hier ungefähr dieselbe Bedeutung wie 'einem die hende valten' als Zeichen der Huldigung nach Lehnrecht. Vgl. Wb. 1, 629b, Grimm, RA. 139 und Martin zu Parz. 51, 8.

84. *nieten*, swv. refl. c. Gen. 'mit etw. zu tun oder zu schaffen haben, etw. geniessen.' Vgl. Parz. 402, 16; 725, 10; Iw. 5642, 7960.

87. *sich verstên*, c. Gen. 'wahrnehmen, kennen lernen.'

96. Wegen des Asyndetons vgl. G. Trist. 11497 *ir vater, ir muoter beide*; unten 567. Über die Parataxe im Allgemeinen siehe Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Halle 1894, zu. V, 52; Benecke zu Iw. 3620, 3950.

102. Vgl. 2868.

106. *iegetlichen*, die Lesart von H, — welche bisher gegolten hat, ist sinnlos. Zum sinngemässen *eigenlichen*, 'für eigen, als Leibeigener,' ist aber kein weiter Schritt. Vgl. unten 1798 sowie folgende Stellen, welche die hier vorgenommene Änderung stützen: MSH. 1, 93a *genigen si der guoten dar, der ich vil eigenliche bin*; das. 1, 354b *ich bin stete an minem muote gegen ir, der ich eigenliche bin*; das. 1, 296b *vil süeze wtp, do dich min ouge alrêrst gesach, do gap ich mich dir als eigenlichen, daz ich dir die eigenschaft nie st zebraich*; Ulr. v. Türheim Wh. 128a, 170c, 190b *ich bin vür eigen in verselt*; Fraudienst 149, 36 *und ir hân sô gar verselt das herze min und al den lip*.

107. = 2031.

110. *bevîln*, swv. unpers. c. Gen. 'mich verdriesst, mir wird zu viel.' G. Trist. 4939; Aristoteles und Phillis 390 *st sprach 'der rede mich bevîlt.'*

134. Geläufiger ist *nâch* oder *ze lobe stên*; s. Wb. 1, 1020a.

136. Bei *wol* steht der Akkus. 1211.

151 f. 'Man darf nichts aufschieben, denn wie mich dünkt, so lange etwas unausgeführt bleibt, entzieht es sich dem Menschen leicht, aber sobald es erledigt wird, ist dies nicht mehr möglich.' Über *biz*, 'so lange als,' vgl. Wb. 1, 191b.

158. G. Trist. 242 *er vindet alle sine ger (: her)*.

164. Auslassung des Subjektpronomens in Frage- und Bedingungssätzen begegnet öfters; vgl. Armer Heinr. 846 *ex tate dinem herzen wê, soltest ob min grabe stên*. Zahlreiche Belege für diese Erscheinung bei Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, zu II, 107.

178. *sich süezen*, swv. (c. Dat. nur hier!), 'sich angenehm machen.'

180. *dekein*, 'irgendwelch.'

187. Über die Form *guns* (= *gunst*) vgl. Gramm. 1, 1073; Weinhold, *Alt*.

Gramm. § 177. Lexer belegt dieselbe noch aus Ulr. Wh. 236 und Dietrichs Flucht 8758. Siehe auch unten 318 *gas* = *gast*.

191. Belege für das Fehlen des Objektpronomens gibt Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, zu XI, 234. Ort. 5121 *wiltu mich eliche hân?* H. Trist. 508.

192. *den eit staben*, 'vorsagen, abnehmen.' Parz. 269, 3 *sus stabter selbe stnen eit*; das. 151, 27; Wig. 9023; Engelh. 2920; mit Gen. MF. 77, 1 *swoer mir rehte solde staden des einen eit, ich swüere wol, es wære ir leit*. Vgl. ferner Walther 104, 22 nebst Wilmanns Anm.

194 f. *heiltuom*, stn. 'Reliquie.' Parz. 269 2 *er nam das heiltuom, druf er suwor*; G. Trist. 15672 *hie mite was ouch das heiltuom komen, uf dem si sweren solde*; das. 15681. S. Grimm, RA. 896.

197. *schimpfflichen* 'spassend.' Iw. 2589 *schimpfflichen sprach er*.

198. 'Dass sie lachen mussten.' Zahlreiche Beispiele dieser Umschreibung mit *geschehen* gibt Wb. 2, 2, 113b.

199 f. Stammt aus Iw. 2333 f. '*ich wil iuch gerne: welt ir mich?*' '*spræche ich nû, vrouwe, nein ich.*'

208. Zu *megen* vgl. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gramm.* § 409.

215. *wäre minne*, 'eheliches Beilager.' Vgl. Wig. 9049 f. *her Wigalois durch sine zukt vermeit der wâren minne frucht, das er ir minne niene enpfloz, noch bi der schænen niene lao unz das er si ze stæte nam*. Aber so heisst auch die himmlische, im Gegensatz zur sinnlichen, irdischen Liebe. Vgl. uten 250; Walther 67, 26 *der wâren minne giht si (diu sêle) ganzer stætekeit*, mit Wilmanns Anm. Parz. 532, 17 *sol ich der wâren minne jehen, diu muoz durch triuwe mir geschehen*; das. 466, 1 heisst Gott '*der wære minnære*'. Siehe noch Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, zu XI, 372.

216. *in ger stn* habe ich sonst nicht belegen können. Wolfram gebraucht das Wort *ger* häufig mit einem abhängigen Gen., z. B. Parz. 120, 23 *alsus stuont er in strftes ger*, 'trug Verlangen nach dem Kampfe.' Ähnlich wie an unserer Stelle, verwendet Ulrich von Liechtenstein das gleichbedeutende *gir* Frauendienst 203, 1 f. *ir sult für wdr gelouben mir, die nacht wir lügen in der gir: wir gerten als diu vederspil*, 'waren begierig wie die Jagdfalken.'

222. Wie hier *wol gejâret*, so heisst Isôt 286 *getaget*, 'zu Jahren gekommen.' Die beiden Pilger, den Tristan bei seiner ersten Ankunft in Kornwall begegnet, waren *alte wallare* . . . *getaget unde gejâret*, bejahrt, sehr alt.

223. *allez*, Adv. 'immer, durchaus, die ganze Zeit.'

225. *fremdeoltche*, 'auf fremde, seltsame Weise.'

226. *sich verzîthen*, c. Gen. 'sich lossagen von, verlassen.' Parz. 488, 25; Iw. 2863; unten 1037, 1769.

229. *mimetrano* steht H. Trist 6450; Lobges. 14, 19; Part. 6957, 6992. Vgl. G. Trist. 11471 *der trano der ist von minnen*.

236. 'Schaden und Vorteil.' Parz. 102, 24; 597, 6 *gewin und flust*; das. 432, 1 *ze fluste oder ze gewinne*; Wolfr. Wh. 8, 3 *minnen flust*. Es werden auch die beiden Verba häufig verbunden, z. B. Parz. 82, 13 *dâ was gewonnen und verlorn*.

238. 'Weshalb, meint Ihr, tat sie das?' vgl. auch unten 524, 1104. Weitere Belege finden sich Anegenge 5, 29; 19, 27; Iw. 3309; Parz. 327, 26; 349, 28; 353, 1; Walther 92, 35.

239. *nöten*, swv. c. Gen. 'womit belästigen, quälen.' Wig. 922.

241. *schaffen* bedeutet hier und 302 'verursachen, hervorrufen.' Vgl. Wig. 9123 *das schuof ir grôziu triuwe*.

242. *iteniuwe* ist verstärktes *niuwe*, 'immer neu, ganz neu,' hier etwa 'unbeständig.' G. Trist. 14309, 15050; Mai 176, 6; Frauendienst 9, 2.

245. Vielleicht wäre es richtiger *der* statt *die* zu lesen, parallel mit dem Gen. Plural des vorhergehenden Verses. Der Gen. ist von *nîht* abhängig.

250 f. Über *wäre minne*, hier die Gottesminne, vgl. zu 215 oben; Lobges. 6 *das liep das niemer kan zergân*; Armer Heinr. 773 *nû setzt mich in den vollen rât, der dâ niemer zergât*; das. 1148 *das ewige leben, das dâ niemer zergât*.

259. *verbüten*, *verkiuten*, swv. 'sich wogegen erklären, verschmähen,' sonst nur bei Ulrich von Zatzikhoven im Lanzelet 8401 *lop von lantliuten sol nieman verkiuten*, welches sprichwörtlich klingt.

268. *herzensmerze*, MSH. 1, 134b, eine häufige Variante von *herzesmerze*; s. G. Trist. 1071, 1719, 4222, 19123; Engelh. 49.

272. *gevære*, 'feindselig.' Vgl. unten 2135; Lanz. 66 *si wurden im gevære*; das. 3324; Flore 7460 *jâ sint ir mir gevære*; MSH. 2, 35a *diu (minne) ist mir gevære*.

284. *der minne ein zage*, 'ein blöder Schäfer' (Wb. 3, 835b). Lobges. 7 *ich was gein dîner minne ein zage*; Lanz. 1693 *des lîbes ein zage* = 2. Büchl. 486; das. 497 *ein ellens zage*.

285. Lanz. 4278 *woltent irz für guot hân, ich seit iu gerne minen muot*; Mor. v. Craon 1528 *der ich vil gedienet hân, diu wil es nîht verguot hân*.

287. Lanz. 915 *mir ist diûke vil geseit von minnen und ir süezekeit*.

289. Neben dem Gen., der eigentlich dem Refl. *sich enstân* ausschliesslich zukommt, (z. B. MF. 24, 2 *als ich mîchs kan enstân*), wird auch der Akkus. mit dem einfachen *enstân* verbunden; letzterer ist ahd. stets die Regel. Vgl. Wb. 2, 2, 581a, sowie Sommer zu Flore 6339.

290. 'Er will mich schonungsvoll, angenehm behandeln.' *mite gân* in diesem Sinne auch G. Trist. 9951.

302. Das Wort *name* ist hier umschreibend: *magetliker n.* = Jungfräulichkeit. Vgl. G. Trist. 1058 *durch minen magetlichen namen (: schamen)*.

306 f. Vgl. 365 f., 2676 f.

308. *woltes* = *wolte das*.

311. Vers 2231 *er slouf in bæse hudervôdt. sliefen*, stv. 'schlüpfen'; von Kleidern, 'leicht und schnell aus- oder anziehen.' *wîplich* steht hier, nach der Brautnacht, in scharfem Gegensatz zu *magetlich* in Vers 302.

312 f. 'Die junge Frau *bant ir houbet* oder eine andere *bant si*, und erklärte dadurch öffentlich, dass sie nun nicht mehr dem Kreise der Jungfrauen angehöre, sondern dem Kreise der Frauen.' (Wb. 1, 134a). Vgl. Parz. 202, 25 *des morgens si ir houbet bant*, nebst der Anm. Martins; H. Trist. 850 *si nam Tristandes wânbrât und legete ir rîche kleider an, als sie beste mohte hân und bant si nâch der brüte site*.

316. 'Die Leute dachten veilleicht . . .' Das Verbum *wellen* in vermutender Bedeutung begegnet auch Vers 788; vgl. noch Parz. 191, 11 *des ich wænen wil*, mit Martins Anm. Weitere Belege für diesen Gebrauch von *wellen*, den die Wbb. nicht anführen, gibt Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte*, zu IX, 31, Haupt zu MF. 6, 14.

318. Die Form *gas* statt *gast* im Reim auch 980, nach Analogie von *guns* für *gunst* 187. Dagegen erscheint *gast*: *last* Vers 63.

321. Afranz. *fier*, 'stolz, schön.' Parz. 21, 11; 38, 18 *degen fier*; das 118, 11 *sin lip was oldr und fier*; MF. 122, 14 *doch ist vil lûter vor valsche ir der lip, smal, wol ze mâze, vil fier unde frô*.

330. Vgl. Renenwart, Berliner Hs. fol. 75a *nû wart der site niht vermiten, ich endarf sin rehte nennen niht: man wûrket in wol êne liht. do der site under in ergie, Alyse do des niht enlie, si entalief in vil kurzer stunt*. (Zitiert nach Busse, S. 132).

344. *ze kurzen tagen*, 'vor kurzem.' Iw. 2318 *in kurzen tagen*, bald.

350. *einem etw. ze vâre tuon*, 'ihn betrügen.' Vgl. Biterolf 8068 *jâ hân ichz âf die triuwe mîn dâr niht ze vâre getân*.

352. Walther 122, 21 *das wir die sorge swenden*; MSH. 1, 11a *senden kumber swenden*; Parz. 160, 30 *du swendest wîplich lachen*.

355. Parallelen hierzu bei Zingerle, *Die deutschen Sprichwörter im Mittelalter*. Wien 1864, S. 96 f.

370. *dar*, 'bis dahin.'

376. G. Trist. 409 *unz daz er aber einer vart durch banekete ineine wart*. Afranz. *aise*, 'Gemächlichkeit,' Parz. 167, 10; Wolfr. Wh. 449, 9.

386 f. Über diese Episode, die bei Eilhart 6143 f. steht, vgl. R. Köhler, *Germania* 14, 246 f. = *Zum kühnen Wasser bei den Fortsetzern Gottfrieds. Kleinere Schriften von R. K.* 2, 346 f.

388. *ouwe* wird gewöhnlich stark flektiert; weitere Belege für die schwache Flexion gibt Lexer 2, 192.

399. Eilhart 6150 *Isaldin pfert dô 'trat in einen gereinetin pfâl*.

400. Vgl. Walther 100, 18 *dazs iemer sælio müeze stn!*

402. Über *das süeze* vgl. Martin zu Parz. 203, 8; Paul, *Beitr.* 12, 594. MSH. 3, 247a *lîse greif ich dâ hin, dâ diu wîp sô süeze sint* (Neidhart).

410. *ellen*, stn. 'Mut.' G. Trist. 7010 *dô wuohs im muot und ellen*; s. ferner Parz. 108, 4; 112, 30; 425, 1; 559, 5. Das Wort ist mehr dem Volksepos eigentümlich.

419. Parz. 232, 30 *ob der hüffe ame gelenke*.

421. Vgl. Lanz. 919 f. und unten 431.

424. *êne sohranc* scheint nicht ganz klar; man erwartet hier ein Verbum. *schranc*, stn. 'Verschränkung, Flechtung.' Steht *êne sohranc* = *sunder sohranc*, welches Wb. 2, 2, 202a in der Bedeutung eines Flickwortes, 'ohne Betrug,' zitiert wird? Erinnert wird man an das in diesem Sinne bei Wolfram vorkommende *êne schranz*; vgl. Parz. 189, 17; 239, 12; Wb. 2, 2, 204b. Oder ist hier etwa ein Verbum zu ergänzen: 'ohne Verschränkung geblieben'?

426. Die Änderung *dêr* bedarf wohl keiner Rechtfertigung.

428. *spiln* mit dem Gen. Ulr. Wh. 247d *des spils et dâ spiltten*; Eracl. 3801 *si hæten des spils ensamt gespilt*.

429. Parz. 82, 19 *vinsterlingen spiln*, 'im Finstern turnieren.' *vinsterlingen* = *âne lîht*, wie es in der zu Vers 330 zitierten Stelle aus Ulr. Wh. heisset. Vgl. ferner Martin zu der hier angeführten Parzivalstelle.

436. Erec 4243 *alsô beleip ez ungeseit*.

439. *fast* = 2203.

440. 'Wenn du es mir nicht sagst . . .' vgl. 3203, wo der fehlende Genetiv wohl einzusetzen wäre. Das Wort *munt* umschreibend auch Vers 510.

441 f. Stammt wohl aus Iw. 960 f. *swære ob dus ieman sagest, so ist iemer gescheiden diu friuntschaft under uns beiden*.

454. *einem an daz leben gên*, eine mehr dem Volksepos eigentümliche Redensart, kommt bei Gottfried ziemlich häufig vor, z. B. Trist. 7724, 11329, 12756, 12906, 15989, 16024; Eilhart 6187 *es sal im an den lîp gên*.

456 f. Vgl. Eilhart 6188 f. *wen he hât ez umme daz getân, daz her sie wil lazin*.

460. Vgl. Eilhart 6181 f. *Kehenis sich niht enthabete, stme vater er clagete und allen einen lîben holdin, daz Tristrant nicht enwolde zu wîbe sine swester*.

463. *unvertragen*, 'nicht gestattet, nicht geduldet.' Ulr. Wh. 114a, 176a, 245c.

465. Eilhart 6196 f. *der koning nam dâ dar zû beide mäge unde man*.

471 f. Dieselben Konjunktive im Reime 1647, 2927; vgl. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gramm.* § 220, Sommer zu Flore 7886.

484. *âne nôt*, 'unnötig.' G. Trist. 7227 *und was daz allez âne nôt*; das. 13402, 18332. Die Bedeutung 'unnötigerweise' hat der Ausdruck G. Trist. 11298, 18338, 18558, 18578.

485. ob ist hier konzessiv, 'wenn auch'; vgl. Mensing, *Syntax der Konzessivsätze*. Diss. Kiel 1891, S. 71.

487. Vgl. 1972 *daz wil ich sprechen âne vâr*, aufrichtig. Flore 6236 *sprach er âne vâr*; Parz. 612, 2; 716, 2; *sunder vâr* das. 146, 4.

491. *avenanz*, zu afrz. *avenant*, 'lieblich, artig,' mhd. nur hier belegbar.

492. Parz. 122, 13 *aller manne schæne ein bluomen kranz*; Wig. 8887 *frou Larte, der fröuden kranz*.

498. Eilh. 6244 f. *jâ helt eine vrouwe baz ein hundeln durch minen willen obir lât und stille, den mich iuwer swester hât getân*.

501. Vgl. MF. 173, 26 (Reinmar) *unde ir niemer umbe ein wort geliegen wil*; wegen der Lesart von B, *umbe ein hâr*, s. das. 160, 38 *het ich der guoten ie gelogen sô grôz als umbe ein hâr*; MS. Bodmer 1, 69b *liege ich iu um ein hâr*.

502. 'Thr fehlt es nicht an Schönheit' = sie ist von tadelloser Schönheit. Parz. 825, 2 *si was an im vil unbetrogen*; auch wird *unbetrogen* mit dem Gen. konstruiert, z. B. Lanz. 556, 976 *schæner sinne unbetrogen*; Parz. 356, 29 *ellens unbetrogen*.

506. MF. 134, 35 (Morungen) *wâ ist nû hin min liechter morgensterne, Geliebte*.

507. *meienschn*, bildlich auch MSH. 1, 336a; s. auch unten :
Trist. 2809, 4495.

512. 'Sage schnell, wenn das wahr werden soll, was du gesagt hast
zil geben,' eine Zeit bestimmen,' steht auch unten 2900; vgl. fern
8809; Greg. 542 *gebet dirre rede ein zil*, endet sie.

514. 'Ich bestimme, dass es heute über sechs Wochen geschehen soll.'
Vgl. 2197.

516. 'Wenn ich die Wahrheit nicht gesprochen habe.' *abe g* . c. Gen.
'etw. bleiben lassen'; c. Gen. der Pers. und Dat. der Sache 'einem etw.
verweigern, es ihm vorenthalten.' Sollte vielleicht hier der Dat. ein. einsetzen
sein?

518. Gerh. 383; MSH. 2, 379a *lebeltohez leben*.

523. Vielleicht *so holt* zu lesen?

THE TEACHING OF SPANISH AND OUR SPANISH-AMERICAN INTERESTS¹

BY J. D. M. FORD

At the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, held at Washington during December of 1916, there assembled delegates from the various countries of North, Central and South America. Representing as they did the intellectual interests and aims of our whole Western World, these gentlemen discussed many important matters and, before their meeting adjourned, they passed resolutions covering the Recommendations which they deemed it advisable to make. One of the Recommendations—the Seventeenth—is this: “That the teaching of the Spanish Language be made general in the schools of the United States, and of the English Language in the Latin-American schools, and that both be taught from the point of view of American customs, history, literature, and social institutions.”

In point of fact, the teaching of Spanish has been for some time past a feature of the educational programme of most of the secondary schools and colleges of the United States and Canada. Few are the localities in which a sense of its value had not made itself felt, even before the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress met; but the Recommendation of that body serves to give authoritative emphasis to the validity of an educational interest that has been gradually spreading. It is to be noted, however, that the Congress seems to strike a new note in that part of its Recommendation which urges “the teaching of Spanish from the point of view of American customs, history, literature, and social institutions.” Caution is to be observed in the interpreting of these words. They can hardly have been meant to convey the idea that in the teaching of the language our attention is to be directed exclusively to the life and thought of Spanish-America and that we should ignore the geog-

¹ An abstract of a report made to the American Association of University Professors and to the Modern Language Association of America.

raphy, history, literature, art, and what not of the mother-land, Spain. Were they so intended, they would preach false doctrine, and should find no acceptance with us. On the contrary, we may well assume that the Congress aimed at the redressing of a lamentable fact—the ignorance of the conditions in Latin-America which prevails in our northern region—and intimated that we might combine a purely linguistic effort with the highly desirable endeavor of acquiring a knowledge of the past and present thought and deeds of Spanish-Americans no less than of Spaniards. Needless to say, the same holds true of the study of Portuguese, which is beginning to take on some proportion in our University curricula; the acquisition of a reading ability in that language should accompany a resolution to secure an acquaintance with Brazilian conditions as well as those of Portugal.

Among our educators concerned with the direction of instruction in Spanish, there are some who express the view that, giving the proper emphasis to Spanish-American affairs in the subject-matter of our class-room work, we should teach the Spanish-American pronunciation (they had better say, pronunciations) and not the purely Castilian. It is here submitted that such persons are needlessly making difficulties. The desirable results can be achieved by making the Castilian pronunciation the basis of the class-room exercises and acquainting the pupils with the leading Spanish-American variations therefrom. Of course, in cases in which the aim is the absolutely practical one of giving training in commercial usages to pupils who are to engage in business carried on in Spanish-America or with any of its several countries, it may be imperative to skill such pupils from the outset in certain non-Castilian peculiarities of enunciation; but for general cultural purposes that is not requisite. The truth of the matter is that there is no general Spanish-American pronunciation as distinguished from the Castilian norm, and if we are to insist on anything other than that norm we may be led into the false position of teaching as a standard the brogue of this or that region. However, the recent investigation conducted by Professor McKenzie of the University of Illinois (See *The Modern Language Journal*, October, 1917) shows that the majority of those responsible for the teaching of Spanish in this country are not troubled by the situation: they meet it by using

the Castilian pronunciation as a basis and by indicating the far from numerous variations which are found in Spanish-America and which often exist dialectically in Spain. Experience has proved to those of us who know fairly well both Spanish-America and Spain that the genuine Castilian is accepted and respected wherever the Spanish language is spoken.

Harvard University.



The Great Pool



The Garden

HAYES BARTON. THE BIRTHPLACE OF SIR WALTER RALEGH

From photographs by Eden Phillpotts

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HAYES BARTON

BY EDEN PHILLPOTTS

East of Exe river and south of those rolling heaths crowned by the Roman encampment of Woodberry, there lies a green valley surrounded by forest and hill. Beyond it rise great bluffs that break in precipices upon the sea. They are dimmed to sky colour by a gentle wind from the east, for Eurus, however fierce his message, sweeps a fair garment about him. Out of the blue mists that hide distance the definition brightens and lesser hills range themselves, their knolls dark with pine, their bosoms rounded under forests of golden green oak and beech. Nearer yet a mosaic of meadow and tilth spreads in pure sunshine. One field is brushed with crimson clover; another with dull red of sorrel through the green meadow grass; another that rounds in a gentle hill, shines daisy-clad and drops to the green of wheat. Some crofts glow with the good red earth of Devon and no growing things sprout as yet upon them to hide their nakedness; but they hold seed of roots and their hidden wealth will soon answer the rain.

In the heart of the vale a brook twinkles and buttercups lie in pools of gold, where lambs are playing together.

Elms set bossy signets on the land and throng the hedge-rows, their round tops full of sunshine; while beneath them the hawthorns sparkle very white against the riot of the green. From the lifted spinneys and coverts where bluebells fling their amethyst at the woodland edge, pheasants are croaking, and silver-bright against the blue aloft, wheel gulls that link the lush valley with the invisible and not far distant sea. They cry and musically mew from their high place; and beneath them the cuckoo answers.

Nestling now upon the very heart of this wide vale a homestead

lies, where the fields make a dimple in their bosom and the burn comes flashing. Byres and granaries light gracious colour here, for their slate roofs are mellow with rusty lichen of red gold and they stand as a bright knot round which the valley opens and blossoms with many coloured petals. The very buttercups shine pale by contrast and the apple-blooth, its blushes hidden from this distance, masses in pure, cold white beneath the glow of these great roofs. Cob walls stretch from the outbuildings and their summits are protected against weather by a little penthouse of thatch. In their arms the walls hold a garden of many flowers and rich in promise of small fruits. Gooseberries and raspberries flourish amid old gnarled apple trees; there are strawberries, too, and the borders are bright with May tulips and peonies. Stocks and wallflowers blow fragrant by the pathway, murmured over by honey bees; while where the farmhouse itself stands, deep of eave under old thatch, twin yew trees make a dark splash on either side of the entrance and a wistaria showers its mauve ringlets upon the grey and ancient front. The dormer windows are all open and there is a glimpse of a cool darkness through the open door. Within the solid walls of this dwelling neither sunshine or cold can penetrate, and Hayes Barton is warm in winter, in summer cool. The house is shaped in form of a great E, and it has been patched and tinkered through the centuries, but still stands, complete and sturdy in harmony of design, with unspoiled dignity from a far past. Only the colours round about it change with the painting of the seasons; for the forms of hill and valley, the modelling of the roof-tree, the walls and the great square pond outside the walls, change not. Enter and above the low-ceiled dwelling-rooms you shall find a chamber with waggon roof and window facing south. It is on very reasonable tradition meet to be credited, the birth-place of Walter Raleigh.

Proof rests on Sir Walter's own assertion: at one time the manor-house of Fardell under Dartmoor claimed the honour, but Raleigh himself declares that he was born at Hayes and speaks of his 'natural disposition to the place' for that reason. He desired, indeed, to purchase his childhood's home and make his Devonshire seat there; but this never happened and the old three-gabled Tudor dwelling passed through many hands and many notable families.

"Probably no conceivable growth of democracy," says a writer on Raleigh's genealogy, "will make the extraction of a famous man

other than a point of general interest," but in these fierce days, when our socialist friends are so angry with us who dare to remember our great-grandfathers, it may soon happen that long descent will have to be concealed as an offence. Raleigh's family, at least, won more lustre from him than he from them, though his mother, of the race of the Champernownes, was a mother of heroes indeed. By her first marriage she had borne Sir Walter's great half-brother, Humphrey Gilbert; and when Otho Gilbert passed, the widow wedded Walter Raleigh and gave birth to another prodigy. The family of the Raleighs must have been a large and scattered one; but our Western historian, Prince, stoutly declares that Sir Walter was descended from an ancient and noble folk "and could have produced a much fairer pedigree than some of those who traduced him."

The tale of his manifold labours has been handsomely told and Fame will blow her trumpet above his grave for ever; but among the greater histories, Prince's brief chronicle is delightful reading and we may quote a passage or two for the pleasure of those who pursue this note.

"A new country was discovered by him in 1584," says the historian; "called in honour of the Queen, Virginia: a country that hath been since of no inconsiderable profit to our nation, it being so agreeable to our English bodies, so profitable to the Exchequer, and so fruitful in itself; an acre there yielding over forty bushels of corn; and which is more strange there being three harvests in a year: for their corn is sow'd, ripe and cut down in little more than two months."

I fear my friends in Virginia today will not corroborate these agricultural wonders.

We may quote again, for Prince on Sir Walter's distinction is instructive at this moment.

"For this and other beneficial expeditions and designs, her Majesty was pleased to confer on him the honour of knighthood; which in her reign was more esteemed: the Queen keeping the temple of honour close shut, and never open'd but to virtue and desert."

Well may democracy call for the destruction of that temple when contemplating those that are permitted entrance today.

Then vanished Elizabeth and a coward king took her place.

"Fourteen years Sir Walter spent in the Tower, of whom Prince Henry would say that no King but his father would keep such a bird in a cage."

But freedom followed and the scholar turned into the soldier again. Ultimately Spain had her way with her scourge and terror. James ministered to her revenge and Raleigh perished; "the only man left alive, of note, that had helped to beat the Spaniard in the year 1588."

The favour of the axe was his last, and being asked which way he would dispose himself upon the block, he answered, "So the heart be right, it is no matter which way the head lieth."

"Authors," adds old Prince, "are perplexed under what topick to place him, whether of statesman, seaman, soldier, chymist, or chronologer; for in all these he did excel. He could make everything he read or heard his own, and his own he would easily improve to the greatest advantage. He seemed to be born to that only which he went about, so dextrous was he in all his undertakings, in court, camp, by sea, by land, with sword, with pen. And no wonder, for he slept but five hours; four he spent in reading and mastering the best authors; two in a select conversation and an inquisitive discourse; the rest in business."

We may say of him that not only did he write 'The History of the World,' but he helped to make it; we may hold of all Devon's mighty sons, this man the mightiest. Good works have been inspired by his existence, but I ever regret that Gibbon, who designed a life of Raleigh, relinquished the idea before the immensity of his greater accomplishment.

In the western meadow without the boundary of Hayes Barton there lies a great pool, where a cup has been hollowed to hold the brook. Here, under oak trees, one may sit, mark a clean reflection of the farm house upon the water and regard the window of the birth chamber opening on the western gable of the homestead. Thence the august infant's eyes first drew light, his lungs the air. He has told us that dear to memory was that snug nook, and many times, while he roamed the world and wrote his name upon the golden scroll, we may guess that the hero tuned his thought to these happy valleys and closed his eyes to mirror this haunt of peace.

Hayes, England.

"YOUR NAPKIN IS TOO LITTLE: LET IT ALONE"

(A Freudean Commentary)

BY SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, M. D.

The scene in which Desdemona loses the precious handkerchief that is to testify so fatally against her is thus given in the Folio:

- (*Oth.*) If she be false, Heauen mock'd it selfe:
Ile not beleeu't.
- Des.* How now, my deere *Othello*? (325)
Your dinner, and the generous Islanders
By you inuited, do attend your presence.
- Oth.* I am too blame.
- Des.* Why do you speake so faintly?
Are you not well? (330)
- Oth.* I haue a paine vpon my Forehead, heere.
- Des.* Why that's with watching, 'twill away againe.
Let me but binde it hard, within this houre
It will be well.
- Oth.* Your Napkin is too little: (335)
Let it alone: Come, Ile go in with you. *Exit.*
- Des.* I am very sorry that you are not well.
- Aemil.* I am glad I haue found this Napkin:
(III, 3, 323-338)

We have quoted these verses exactly as they stand in the Folio, our best text of *Othello*, to show the utter absence in them of any stage-directions, except the *Exit* at l. 336. The Quarto (1622) text differs slightly from the above here and there, but not in the matter of stage-directions.

The absence of any hint as to the stage business intended by the poet at l. 335 is as "deplorable," and as grievous in consequences, as the corresponding omission in the much discussed interview between Hamlet and Ophelia (Act III, sc. 2), when Polonius and Claudius, lawful espials, are concealed behind the arras. Here, as there, commentators and actors have failed to agree on the poet's meaning and have given us various interpretations and varying "business." From l. 338 ("I am glad I have found this Napkin") and from what follows here and elsewhere in the play, it is evident that the "napkin" with which Desdemona had offered to bind Othello's forehead had fallen or been thrown to the floor—

somehow. But it is a matter of vital significance, not only to the contrivance of appropriate "business" at this point, but also to an understanding of the Poet's art and philosophy, to determine the *just how* of this apparently trivial detail. It involves no less fundamental a question than the rôle that Shakespeare assigns to "accident" in the motivation of this tragedy; for the action of the drama after this scene turns very largely around the loss of the handkerchief.

Emilia, who witnessed the incident, tells Iago that Desdemona "let it drop by negligence." Her statement, despite the fact that it is vague, misleading and evasive, has been accepted by some actors and commentators as a veracious report of what actually transpired. Rowe, who has been followed by a large number of editors, inserted after l. 335 the stage direction "She drops her handkerchief." A manuscript note, "in a handwriting of the time," in the Duke of Devonshire's Q₁, reads, "Lets fall her Napkin." Dyce expressed a preference for the more modern stage direction: "He puts the handkerchief from him, and it drops." Collier, in his second edition, deserted the Devonshire Quarto and adopted the non-committal suggestion of his ms. Corrector: "The napkin falls to the ground." From Furness we learn that Fechter's Othello threw the handkerchief down in a rage, but that Booth ("with finer insight," says Furness) let Othello gently push the handkerchief aside and Desdemona drop it. Tommaso Salvini's rendering has been thus described (*The Othello of Tommaso Salvini*, by E. T. Mason, 1890, p. 48): "He refuses the handkerchief offered by Desdemona and shows [!] her that it is too small to go round his head. He returns it to her, as he says 'Let it alone,' and Desdemona, thinking that she has replaced the handkerchief in a satchel which hangs at her side, lets it drop to the floor." Professor Ransome's Othello (*Short Studies of Shakespeare's Plots*, by C. Ransome, 1898, p. 223) is as gentle as Salvini's for he thus describes the scene: "[Othello's] temples are throbbing. [Desdemona] will bind them with her handkerchief. Alas! it proves too short for the purpose, and Othello recovering his equanimity, they go out together, and the needless handkerchief drops to the floor, unheeded by its owner." Unfortunately Ransome fails to inform his pupils how the "needless handkerchief"—Shakspeare and Iago were greatly in need of it—remained suspended in mid-air until

Othello and his wife went out (lovingly arm in arm?), and why Othello found it necessary to say, "Let it alone."

It is somewhat remarkable, to say the least, that so few editors and commentators have said anything about the significance of the words "Let it alone" that immediately follow Othello's rejection of his wife's offered assistance. The general impression seems to be that the pronoun "it" (l. 336) refers to the handkerchief, and Deighton, a very reliable guide in such matters, definitely says so, thereby implying that but for Othello's brusque injunction ("Let it alone") Desdemona would have picked it up. That such is the generally accepted interpretation of these words is borne out by the "First Folio Shakspeare" editors' comment on the situation. In the introduction to their edition of this play, the text of which gives the generally accepted stage direction, Miss Porter says (p. xviii): ". . . if [Othello] did not kneel as he spoke, it is implied, at least, by the action that he bowed his head low, clasping his forehead in his hand to suit his excuse, 'I have a paine vpon my Forehead, heere.' Desdemona, thus, can draw his bowed head upon her breast and seek to 'binde it hard' with her little embroidered handkerchief, which, being 'too little,' naturally [!] dropped on the floor. Othello, stung with the ominous double meaning of his chance words, is suddenly irritated enough to command 'Let it alone'." And, in their "literary illustrations" (p. 215) these editors say, "Shakespeare . . . makes Othello himself drop the handkerchief which Desdemona only parted with to bind his aching forehead. When with his abrupt movement it falls, she must have been about to stoop for it, since he says 'Let it alone'." Mr. Morrison, whose scholarly and poetical performance of Othello was a revelation and a delight, seems to have found this short sentence sufficiently troublesome to warrant its omission from his acting version.

The manner of Othello's and Desdemona's exit after this incident is a matter which concerns the actor more than the commentator; but inasmuch as it depends upon our interpretation of the characters and of the incident, and even involves the poet's art and intention, it must have our consideration for a little while. To our regret, we find that only very few actors have left any detailed record of their performance of this great rôle and especially of this apparently trivial, but in reality very important, incident. Booth

thus instructs "ye Novice, H. H. F(urness)": "Pass her, while on her knees, with forced indifference, but turn lovingly, and holding your arms for her to enter them, say, 'Come, I'll go in with thee.' Then with a long soulful look into her eyes, fold her tenderly to your heart and go slowly off." Salvini's "Othello makes a slight action of reassurance to Desdemona, upon her expression of anxiety about him. After Desdemona's exit, Othello stands for a moment in the doorway looking after her. He then sighs heavily, and follows her at a slow pace, with downcast looks, his head bowed upon his breast." Helen Faucit, describing Macready's performance in this scene, says that his Othello, reassured by Desdemona's "frank innocent demeanor and fond words, . . . took her face in both his hands, looked long into her eyes, and then the old look came into his, and it spoke as plainly as possible, 'My life upon her faith'." Fechter evidently left the stage in a rage.—We see here three wholly different conceptions: in the one (Fechter), Othello is represented as wholly the dupe of Iago's villainy, his jealousy in full blast; in the other (Booth, Macready), he has discarded Iago's insinuations and been restored to full faith in his wife's innocence; in the third (Salvini), he is tormented with doubts—not jealous, nor secure—although he had said, "I'll not believe it." Behind these differences of interpretation is, of course, the question of the propriety and naturalness of the poet's portrayal of the evolution of the jealous passion in a man of Othello's temperament and character.

To the psychologist, especially to one imbued with the Freudian concepts, the extremely important incident of the loss of Desdemona's handkerchief presents some very interesting problems for solution. If it be true that Desdemona

"so loves the token—

For [Othello] conjured her she should ever keep it—

That she reserves it evermore about her

To kiss and talk to"

how comes it that she forgets what has befallen it? that it never crosses her mind that *that* was the "napkin" which her husband threw from him so impatiently or which she let fall as she was about to "bind it hard" about his forehead? If Othello deliberately shows Desdemona that her napkin is too small to go around his head and returns it to her, as Salvini does, how is it possible

for him not to notice—and subsequently remember—that it was his “first remembrance” to her, the hallowed relic he had bid her “make a darling like her precious eye”? If Desdemona stooped to pick up the handkerchief “spotted with strawberries” could she have failed to notice it? Besides, is it probable that the gentle Desdemona, shocked by her husband’s display of temper, would have given the handkerchief a thought, let alone stoop to pick it up? or, that if she did so, her husband—though he lacked “those soft parts of conversation that chamberers have”—would not have stooped to pick it up and give it to her? or, that if she stooped to pick it up and he estopped her from doing so, that neither he nor she would remember the circumstance?—Every psychologist knows, even the “text-book psychologist,” that the less Othello’s and Desdemona’s attention is directed to the precious heirloom, the less improbable it is for them to forget all about it. And if the time did not give proof to the contrary, one would think that no lover of Shakspeare could suppose the poet capable of perpetrating anything so crude, inartistic and artificial as ordering Desdemona to “let it alone” and then have her forget all about it for no other reason than the exigencies of the plot.

That the matter has a direct bearing not merely on the question of Shakspeare’s art, but on the meaning of this painful tragedy as well, will be evident from what follows. The majority of the critics, almost all, find in the incident only another instance of the tragic rôle played by “accident” in the lives of these ill-starred mortals. Professor Bradley, for example, says: “In *Othello*, after the temptation has begun, [the influence of accident] is incessant and terrible. The skill of Iago was extraordinary, but so was his good fortune. . . . Desdemona drops her handkerchief at the moment most favorable to him. And neither she nor Othello observes what handkerchief it is. Else she would have remembered how she came to lose it, and would have told Othello. All this confounds us with a feeling that there is no escape from fate, and even with a feeling that fate has taken sides with villainy.” (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 181-182.) If so fine a Shakspearean scholar as Bradley thus emphasizes the significance of accident in the play, it will excite no surprise to find the late Mr. Stopford Brooke (*Ten More Plays of Shakespeare*, p. 171) teaching that in *Othello* “Chance or Unreason, blind and deaf, is

at the centre of human life," and that Shakspeare must have "believed that a reasonless chance prevailed in the world" (p. 175). Swinburne, after quoting from Cinthio the account of how Iago cunningly reft the handkerchief from Desdemona's "girdlestead" while she was caressing his young daughter, comments thus: "No reader of this terribly beautiful passage can fail to ask himself why Shakespeare forbore to make use of it. The substituted incident is as much *less probable* as it is *less tragic*. The wife offers to bind the husband's aching forehead with this especially hallowed handkerchief: 'he puts it from him and it drops,' unnoticed by either, for Emilia to pick up and reflect, 'I am glad I have found this napkin.' What can be the explanation of what a dunce who knows better than Shakespeare might call an oversight? There is but one: but it is all-sufficient. In Shakespeare's world as in nature's it is impossible that monsters should propagate." (*Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Oct., 1904, p. 660.) Had this criticism, so forgetful of scientific truth and of the whelp Caliban and his dam Sycorax, emanated from some obscure German scholar, our Shakspeareans would have exclaimed: "Who but a German theorist could have been guilty of such piffle!"—That Swinburne would have preferred Cinthio's melodramatic version as more 'probable' and more 'tragic' than Shakspeare's can be due only to his unwillingness to make the tragedy depend upon chance. A German critic, Gensichen, quoted by Furness, moralizes thus on the scene: "Had Othello retained a trace of the gallantry of a lover, he would have picked up the handkerchief which *Desdemona let fall*. . . . It was through this *neglect of a courteous act* that Othello himself provided Iago with the weightiest proof of his wife's infidelity."

A satisfactory explanation of Desdemona's forgetfulness as to how she lost the magic handkerchief her husband had given her must not only remove the difficulties and contradictions we have specified, and answer the questions we have raised, but it must also eliminate or minimize the significance of chance in the drama. For though accident undoubtedly plays an important rôle in the fates of men and is therefore entitled to a place in the drama, in tragedy as well as in comedy, yet, because of our modern scepticism as regards the intervention of supernatural agencies ("fate") in the affairs of mortals, the effectiveness and the moral value of tragedy are immeasurably lessened if the fate of the protagonists

is not the direct outcome of their characters. We are too thoroughly imbued with the principle of free choice to be satisfied with tragedy resulting from a chaos of mishaps. Knowing that truth is often stranger than fiction and that accidents will happen, we are willing to believe that a messenger is delayed in the delivery of an important letter, or that a pirate attacks a ship on which the hero is being conveyed to his foreordained doom; but *the thoughts and the actions of the protagonists themselves must not be lawless or "accidental."* This instinctive attitude of ours is evidently only the unconscious realization of the truth formulated by Professor Freud—that in the domain of psychic phenomena nothing occurs by accident, that all psychic manifestations are definitely determined. It follows from this "law of psychic determinism" that even such a phenomenon as the forgetting of an important impression, i. e., the forgetting of something one has long known or of something that has great emotional significance, is always due to the working in the mind of an important "complex" or group of emotional ideas. Such a forgetting is brought about by a "repression"—an automatic and highly purposive and useful function of the mind whose object it is to preserve the individual from the recollection of a painful idea or experience. That Shakspeare intuitively understood this and kindred phenomena I have shown in two short papers, one on a "lapsus memoriae" in *Coriolanus* (I. 9, 79-92), and one on "slips of the tongue in Shakspeare" (*The Dial*, Aug. 15, 1916; Dec. 23, 1915; Feb. 17, 1916), and elsewhere. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, we are therefore warranted in assuming that Desdemona's forgetting of the manner of the loss of her handkerchief was due to repression. Othello, as we interpret the scene, did not see what handkerchief it was with which she had offered to bind his head, and therefore was not guilty (as charged by some critics) of forgetfulness or "carelessness." The idea that he rejected her offered kindness because the napkin was too little is preposterous; that handkerchief, or any other that was hers, would have been too small though it had been large enough to encompass all the cuckoldy heads in Christendom. With Desdemona the matter is different: to her that mummy-dyed handkerchief was the emblem of her husband's love. And we cannot but admire the artistry that makes her lose the precious relic at the moment when it dawns upon her, even if

only unconsciously, that she has lost the love of the Moor to whose honors and valiant parts she had, in spite of nature, consecrated her soul and her fortunes. Commenting on Othello's rejection of the handkerchief, Lady Martin well says: "The anger and abruptness shown in this reply to her offer to relieve his pain must have come indeed as a shock to Desdemona, contrasting strangely as it did with the tone of their last parting so short a time before. . . . No wonder, finding things so changed, and with no apparent cause, that she forgets the handkerchief." (*On Some of Shakespeare's Female Characters*, 1885, p. 84.) That was his first exhibition of ill-temper to her, his first rude action, and—"child to chiding" that she was—it stunned and stupefied her so that she could not think of saying anything else than "I am sorry that you are not well" as she followed him out. In blotting the recollection of this painful incident out of her mind, she blots out all memory of the handkerchief's loss. The fewer the details that she recalls, the less likely is she to be reminded of the incident as a whole. This is repression, not accident or carelessness. To facilitate this repression, and to heighten the probability of its occurrence, the scene must be so managed and the words so interpreted that the attention of the dramatis personae is not centered too long on the handkerchief. The scene therefore should be managed somewhat as follows:

After Iago's exit, Othello, mindless of his promise to Desdemona to come to her "straight," is lost in painful brooding; for the jealous poison, so skilfully administered, has penetrated deep into his soul. Just after he has concluded that the forked plague is as unshunnable as death and that "she's gone," Desdemona enters, and at the sight of her his love blazes up again and he seeks to reassure himself. Desdemona, not suspecting what is beating in his brain, and surprised at his unsoldierly neglect of his invited guests, gently chides him for letting his "dinner and the generous (*i. e.*, nobly born) islanders" wait on him. So absorbed is he in his melancholy thoughts that he faintly and absent-mindedly murmurs an apologetic "I am to blame." She realizes that something is not right with her lord, and with true wifely solicitude she inquires, "Why do you speak so faintly?" He does not answer; what can he say? "Are you not well?" she says, anxiously. He must answer

and, the cuckold's horns (his last thought before her entrance) still vivid in his mind, he says—equivocally—"I have a pain upon (1) my forehead—here," putting his hand on the spot where the imaginary horns grew. Of course, she knows why he has a headache: he has not slept enough; let her but bind his forehead hard with her napkin and "within this hour it will be well." Forgetting all about the waiting islanders, she attempts to bind the handkerchief about his head; but his own reference to the horns has brought to the forefront of consciousness all that Iago has been telling him and fills him with hate and abhorrence. With an impatient gesture he brushes the handkerchief aside: "Your napkin is too little." Because of the unexpectedness of the movement, the handkerchief drops from her hands. Amazed and bewildered, she stands rooted to the spot, not knowing what to think. Refusing to believe that her husband has rejected her, she almost instinctively puts out her hand to press it against his aching forehead. Her persistence angers him, and he snaps out the words, "Let it alone," i. e., do not touch me. There is no mistaking his meaning now, and she recoils with tears in her eyes. He puts an end to the embarrassing situation, as he walks away from her, by saying, "Come, I'll go in with you." It would not look well for him to enter the banquetting room alone.

Thus interpreted, this scene is not only entirely natural and human, thoroughly consistent with the characters and the progress of the plot, but it is also purged of the element of "accident," and makes the heroine's forgetfulness comprehensible. It accounts for Othello's re-entry, after the banquet, in a paroxysm of grief and despondency. Hitherto commentators have been compelled to assume that his reconciliation with Desdemona had been blasted either by the presence of Cassio at the banquet or by the guests' flattering attentions to his wife. And, finally, thus interpreted, the scene furnishes a natural transition from the scene (III, 3, 55-85) in which Othello ungraciously and with much forcing of his disposition grants Desdemona's request, and the scene (III. 4, 81-94) in which he orders her out of his presence.

New York City.

SHAKSPERE'S INCOME

BY ALWIN THALER

Sir Sidney Lee in the last edition of his *Life of Shakespeare* contributed a chapter on Shakspeare's financial resources which touches upon many of the new sources of evidence, contains valuable bibliographical material, and presents an interesting bird's-eye view of the theatrical business in Shakspeare's time.¹ But its presentation is at more than one point confused because of inadequate definition of terms, nor does it sufficiently emphasize some of the most characteristic elements of Elizabethan dramatic finance. Some further examination of these matters, at closer range, seems to me to be in order. Thus, he credits Shakspeare "during fourteen or fifteen years of the later period of his life," that is to say, after he became a "housekeeper" or part owner of the Globe Theatre in 1599, with an annual income "well exceeding 700 li. in money of the time," or, according to Lee's ratio of comparative values, over 3500 li. in present-day money. On the basis of the available evidence these figures seem to me to be decidedly too high. Some of this evidence I propose to review in this article.

In discussing Shakspeare's income it is, of course, necessary always to bear in mind the constantly decreasing purchasing power of money from Shakspeare's time down to ours, but it is by no means easy to fix an exact ratio. Lee thinks that Shakspeare's money was worth five times that of our day, and this valuation we may accept for the purposes of this article, though no agreement has been

¹ Twenty-seven years or more ago Fleay thought that "the interminable dissertations as to how Shakspeare got his money may as well come to an end, especially as he had his shares for nothing." (See Fleay's discussion of the 1635 Globe and Blackfriars Share Papers, in his *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, p. 328, and compare Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 7th ed., I, 312 ff.) Since Fleay's time the researches of Chambers, Wallace, Murray, and many others, have brought to light much new evidence which not only proves that strictly speaking Shakspeare did not get his shares for nothing, but adds considerably to our general knowledge of Elizabethan dramatic finance and business management. Much of this new material, unfortunately, has remained unorganized; on the other hand there has been considerable diversity of opinion as to the proper interpretation of such parts of it as have attracted attention.

reached either among economists or Elizabethan scholars. The weight of opinion favors a ratio of seven or eight to one, but Professor Thorndike has shown clearly that prices varied so considerably from article to article that at best only an approximate ratio can be reached.² It is important to bear in mind, however, that there was a particularly sharp inflation of money about 1570, with a steady rise in prices thereafter, culminating about 1640. This is abundantly attested by dramatic as well as economic records, but, as I shall indicate below, has been too little regarded by Lee and other writers who have tried to measure Elizabethan theatrical receipts on the basis of figures applying rather to the period just preceding the close of the theatres in 1642.³

The sources of Shakspeare's income enumerated by Lee may be summed up as follows: (1) his "fixed salary" as an actor at the Globe and Blackfriars; (2) his profits as a housekeeper in these theatres; (3) his income as a playwright; (4) premiums for court performances by Shakspeare's company, or other court grants; (5) incidental income from apprentice fees and other miscellaneous sources. Of these (1) and (2) are of chief importance. Lee gives us the following account of Shakspeare's "salary": "Shakespeare's remuneration as both actor and dramatist between 1599 and 1611 was also on the upward grade. The *sharers or housekeepers* were wont to draw for regular histrionic service a *fixed*

² *Shakespeare's Theater*, p. 406. Other writers hold that Elizabethan and Jacobean money was worth all the way from three and a half to twelve times as much as ours, and one writer presents matters as though the earlier money had had at times one to one and a half, at times five to eight, at times fifty to sixty, and again five to ten times the purchasing power of our money. All this in a single book! (See M. Sullivan, *Court Masques of James I.*, pp. 12, 144, 70 n. 3, 90.)—Of course no reference to the price fluctuations of our immediate day and hour is here intended.

³ See excerpts from Thorold Rogers, in Palgrave, *Dictionary of Economics*, III, 191 ff. As early as 1583, William Hunis, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, felt the pinch of rising prices, and "considering the pryces of thinges present to the tyme past" prayed for an increased royal allowance for the support of the children. (See reprints in Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, p. 156.) In 1612 the Master of the Revels got for his office an increase of 20 li. over an earlier expense item of 30 li., and by 1636 the Master's personal fee from the royal treasury had increased 100% over that paid him by Elizabeth. (See P. Cunningham, *Revels Accounts*, pp. xxii, xxi.)

salary, which was at this epoch reaching its maximum of 180 li. a year." Before considering the accuracy of this figure I must call attention to the phrases italicized, since they seem to involve a rather serious misunderstanding of the business methods of the Elizabethan stage. Lee appears to regard the term "sharers" and "housekeepers" as identical in significance. "The shareholders," he says, "whether they were actors or dramatists or merely organizing auxiliaries of the profession, were soon technically known as the 'housekeepers.'" Yet one need only turn to the 1635 Share Papers⁴ (from which Lee draws his inferences concerning the size of Shakspeare's "salary") to see that this is not an adequate statement of the case. As a matter of fact two, or possibly three types of sharers should be distinguished. In the first place, there are the "housekeepers," the men or women who divided the proprietary profits of the playhouses. Housekeepers' shares were acquired by the investment of money or services in the building, rebuilding, and general maintenance of the theatres; such shares were negotiable and were often acquired by inheritance. The construction of Elizabethan playhouses involved comparatively large amounts, the Theatre, in 1576, costing apparently 600 li., while the Fortune, in 1600, required 520 li., and 1000 li. for its rebuilding later. In 1613 the reconstruction of the Globe after the fire was even more costly, and as much as 1400 li. may have been expended.⁵ In order to raise these large sums it was often necessary to interest a number of people. It was the sole business of the housekeepers as such to furnish a theatre and keep it in repair; in return they received a portion of the total receipts, consisting at first of all, later of half the gallery receipts. They were not financially or otherwise responsible for the productions.⁶ This responsibility, including the purchase of plays, apparel and properties, and

⁴ See note 1 above.

⁵ See *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, pp. 28, 107, 112; also 1635 Share Papers.

⁶ This was the situation at the Globe and Blackfriars, the Red Bull, the Swan, and in general also in the Henslowe-Alleyn houses, the Rose, the Hope, and the Fortune. Only in the case of playhouses occupied by children's companies did the housekeepers' responsibility extend beyond this point, and with these we are not concerned here. (Compare the Greenfield Papers reprinted in Fleay's *Stage*, and the lawsuits found by Wallace and listed in Lee's chapter. *Henslowe's Diary* and the 1635 Share Papers point to the same conclusion.)

the employment of subordinate actors or "hirelings," was borne by the dramatic companies, whose leading members, usually ten to twelve in number, shared among them the receipts taken at the doors and the company's part of the gallery money. Here, then, we have the second type of "sharers." Shakspeare must have been a sharer in his company at least as early as 1594, when he was important enough to be mentioned as one of the payees in a court payment to his company.⁷ Before 1594, or while he was a hireling,⁸ Shakspeare doubtless received regular weekly wages, but neither as actor-sharer after 1594 nor as housekeeper after 1599 could there have been any "fixed salary" properly speaking for him,—nor was there any such for the prominent actors in any of the companies. Perhaps not the least attractive thing about the actor's profession in Shakspeare's time was the fact that the actors were to a very large extent their own capitalists and their own producers,—for even the companies of Henslowe and Alleyn chose and made their own productions, Henslowe acting merely as their banker, and not as a controlling manager in the modern sense of the term.⁹ An actor-sharer's "salary" was simply his weekly share of the net receipts, and it was "fixed" only by the success of the plays and the size of the audiences. Thus he enjoyed the full benefit of company prosperity, but in turn had to meet the lean seasons when the plague was abroad and closed the playhouses. At such times even country towns often forbade dramatic performances¹⁰ and probably not even the King's Men drew salary, as would appear from the

⁷ See Halliwell-Phillipps, *op. cit.*, I, 121. It does not follow, as Lee suggests (p. 299) that Shakspeare got one-third of this payment, simply because he was one of the three payees mentioned by name in the warrant. The same reasoning would lead to the impossible conclusion that John Hemynge, in whose name most of the court warrants were made out, received all the money meant for Shakspeare's company as a whole.

⁸ Hirelings in the Henslowe companies were paid from 5 s. to 10 s. a week (see Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, I, 201, *Henslowe Papers*, p. 33) and 6 s. weekly appears to have been the average rate generally paid. In 1579 Gosson in the *School of Abuse* gives this figure, and "twelve penny [a day] hirelings" are made the subject of a pamphleteer's scorn as late as 1620. (See Percy Simpson in *Shakespeare's England*, II, 254.)

⁹ See *Hens. Diar.*, II, 120, *Hens. Pap.*, p. 23.

¹⁰ See provincial records in the second volume of J. T. Murray's *The English Dramatic Companies*.

fact that King James granted them several subsidies to keep them together in times of plague.¹¹

So many writers have followed Lee in speaking of Shakspeare's "fixed salary" that it has seemed worth while to emphasize the characteristically Elizabethan method of company management from which he derived his income as an actor, though I have had to delay reviewing the evidence as to the size of the amount in question here and in the matter of his income as housekeeper in the Globe and Blackfriars. The obvious implication in all this is that Shakspeare and some of his colleagues represent what may be termed a third type of "sharer"—an actor-sharer who was also a housekeeper.¹² There is no evidence to show that the Burbages in 1599 took in as Globe housekeepers all the actor-sharers in their company, while in 1635 the three actor-sharers who wanted to be permitted to buy house shares in the Globe and Blackfriars point out very clearly that of the whole number of actor-sharers at that time only three were also housekeepers.¹³ This custom of letting prominent actor-sharers buy or otherwise acquire proprietary shares is particularly associated with Shakspeare's company, but there is evidence to show that it was not peculiar to this company, as has sometimes been held.¹⁴

¹¹ See Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

¹² Shakspeare, of course, was at once actor-sharer, housekeeper, and playwright. Charles Massye, an inferior playwright but a fairly prominent member of the Admiral's Men, enjoyed the same distinction.

¹³ Among the housekeepers who were not actor-sharers were Mrs. Condell, widow of Henry Condell, and Mrs. Robinson, widow of Richard Burbage.

¹⁴ Professor Thorndike (*op. cit.*, p. 309) distinguishes between Shakspeare's company and the others on this basis, and again (p. 258) specifically states that actor-sharers in the Henslowe-Alleyn companies apparently had no proprietary shares. Yet there is extant (see *Hens. Pap.*, p. 13) an agreement between Henslowe and Alleyn on the one hand, and Thomas Downton, Admiral's Man, according to which the latter is to take over a share in the Fortune. The agreement, dated 1608, is not executed, but would seem to indicate that such arrangements were not unfamiliar to the Henslowe-Alleyn interests. Again, Charles Massye, an actor-sharer in the company which in 1618 took over the housekeepers' rights to the Fortune at an annual rental of 200 li., may have held a share in that house as early as 1613, when he asked Alleyn for a loan of 50 li., and pledged in security his earnings as an actor-sharer and "that little moete I have in the play-houses." (See *Hens. Pap.*, pp. 27, 28, 112.) Finally, Thomas Swymerton, actor-sharer in Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull, was a one-seventh owner

The 1635 petitioners just referred to, it will be remembered, complained to the Lord Chamberlain that the housekeepers were reaping the lion's share of the profits, while they, as mere actor-sharers, were doing the hard work for comparatively small remuneration. John Shanks, one of the housekeepers whom the actors wished to see officially compelled to sell part of his holdings to them, answered by pointing out that "every one of the three petitioners for his owne particular hath gotten and received *this yeere last past* . . . the summe of 180 li."¹⁵ Even without my italics it must surely appear that Shanks does not generalize as to the average income of the actor-sharers, but limits his remark to the preceding year. But the petitioners by no means admit the receipt of any such share even for the one year. Reckoning up their net receipts "one day with another throughout the yeere" they maintain that "the actors share not above 3s."; in other words, the individual actor-sharer's income according to their estimate was about 55 li. a year. In drawing his inference concerning Shakspeare's "salary" Lee accepts at its face value the estimate of Shanks, to whose interest it was to make the Lord Chamberlain believe that the actor-sharer's income was a large one, but who says nowhere that this amount represents a fixed salary or even a regular annual actor-sharer's income. The actors' lower estimate and their complaint about their comparatively narrow means must have seemed reasonable to Pembroke, for he granted their petition; but here as in the case of other controversial documents Lee apparently looked at only one side of the question, and the Chamberlain's decision had no weight with him. A safer conclusion would doubtless be reached by assuming that the actor-sharer's income in 1635 lay somewhere between 55 and 180 li. If in addition we recall that there had been about twenty-five years of steadily rising prices between the end of Shakspeare's acting career and the time of this controversy, it seems not unlikely that Lee has overestimated this part of Shakspeare's income by almost fifty per cent., particularly in view of the fact that leading actors even after the Restoration apparently did not earn more than 90 or 100 li. annually.¹⁶

of that playhouse before 1605. (See documents printed by Wallace, *Nebraska University Studies*, 1909, p. 188.)

¹⁵ See Halliwell-Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 314.

¹⁶ See Malone-Boswell, *Shakspeare*, III, 179 n. "Hart, the celebrated tra-

From the Globe, beginning 1599, and the Blackfriars after 1608, Shakspere's income as a housekeeper, according to Sir Sidney's calculation, amounted to "an aggregate yearly sum of some 300 li., equivalent to 1500 li. in modern currency," each theatre contributing half this sum. It may be well to follow in some detail the calculation for the Globe, in which Shakspere's holdings entitled him at first to one-tenth, and later, when additional housekeepers were admitted, one-fourteenth of the proprietary profits. Lee assumes average daily receipts of 15 li., and thus, allowing 200 performances per year, arrives at a total of 3000 li. gross annual receipts. Of this amount he assigns one-half to the payment of the actors and general expense, leaving a profit of 1500 li. for the housekeepers, and thus 150 li. for Shakspere as a one-tenth owner. The growing receipts in the later years, Lee thinks, would more than make up for the small fraction of his holdings which Shakspere gradually surrendered in order to admit other housekeepers.

Of the several factors which enter into this product only one is open to serious question, but that, after all, is the vital one. The weight of the evidence is heavily against so high a figure as 15 li. for the average daily receipts. To my mind Malone's citation from Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book is conclusive on this point.¹⁷ Sir Henry, the shrewd and rapacious Master of the Revels, obtained from the King's Men in 1628 the grant of two benefits annually, falling on "the second daye of a revived playe att my owne choyse," and his records for eleven such performances given during the next five and a half years show that the average gross receipts per performance were slightly over 10½ li, and the net return to Sir Henry about 8½ li.¹⁸ Lee¹⁹ dismisses this evidence with the remark that we have here "a somewhat special set of accounts," since "Herbert's benefits involved conditions which were never quite normal." This may be granted readily enough—provided we add that in so far as the receipts for these performances differed from

gedian, after the Restoration had but three pounds a week as an actor, that is, about ninety pounds a year." (As a housekeeper, Hart, according to Malone, drew some 56 li. more.) "Betterton, even at the beginning of the [eighteenth] century had not more than five pounds a week."

¹⁷ Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 176.

¹⁸ Sir Henry tells us that 2 li. 5 s. were deducted from the gross receipts for expenses.

¹⁹ *Life*, p. 308 n.

the norm it must have been in that they were probably appreciably larger. For one cannot read Sir Henry's Office Book without realizing that with all his naiveté as a dramatic censor he was a veritable expert in the delicate business of exacting every possible penny of tribute from the players. As Master of the Revels he knew what plays were popular and would bring him a substantial return. He was free to choose his own play except for first performances or new productions, and his records show that he chose, practically without exception, the most popular plays of Shakspeare, Jonson, and Fletcher.²⁰ Yet after 1633 to the closing of the theatres he was glad to accept in place of his semi-annual benefits a gratuity of 20 li. a year. Here again it should be noted that we are almost twenty years after Shakspeare. It follows that in computing the earnings of Shakspeare's proprietary shares we cannot safely allow more than 10 li. for the average daily receipts at the Globe and Blackfriars,²¹ particularly since this sum makes sufficient allowance for an increase over contemporary estimates of receipts at a somewhat earlier time. Thus, John Stockwood, attacking the theatres in a sermon preached in 1578, pointed to their large receipts, which according to his figures then amounted to 5 li. per performance.²² Stockwood would hardly have underestimated the players' takings. Again, in 1585, a German traveler named Samuel Kiechel, who enjoyed the novel pleasure of theatre-going in London and marvelled at the success enjoyed by the crowded houses, estimated the receipts of an ordinary performance at 5½ to 6½ li.²³

²⁰ Among the plays named by the Master of the Revels were *Othello*, *Every Man in His Humor*, *The Alchemist*, and *The Wild Goose Chase*.

²¹ Mr. Greg's conjecture of 12 li. daily receipts at the Fortune deserves the careful attention due to all Mr. Greg's conclusions, but he himself admits that to get this amount it is necessary to assume that the galleries of the house must at times have been capable of accommodating at least fourteen hundred people, while, as he says, "on the basis of the known dimensions it is exceedingly difficult to imagine how even the Fortune can have accommodated more than 500 in the galleries." (See his *Commentary, Hens. Diar.*, II, 135 n.)

²² See Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 50, n. 6. Stockwood assures us that 2000 li. a year were "reaped" at eight playing places, each giving at least one performance weekly.

²³ In describing his visit Kiechel says that at new plays, when according to his testimony, double prices were charged, the receipts were sometimes as much as fifty or sixty dollars. The German dollar of the period was

If, then, we substitute 10 li. for the 15 li. in Lee's calculation, we shall arrive at a sum of 100 li. as the annual return of Shakspeare's share as a housekeeper in the Globe. But this does not end the matter, for his Blackfriars profits are still to be considered. Lee notes that while admission rates at the Blackfriars were higher than those at the Globe, the former (a private theatre, and the winter quarters of Shakspeare's company) was only half as large as the Bankside playhouse. Hence, to follow his reasoning, the average daily receipts would probably not differ materially from those at the Globe. Sir Sidney concludes that Shakspeare's share at the Blackfriars, in which he was entitled to one-seventh of the proprietary profits, must have brought him another 150 li. The implication is that the total proprietary profits were 1050 li. and the gross receipts 2100 li., a sum which, allowing 10 li. for the average daily receipts, would represent the takings of 210 performances. But the two houses were used by but one company—Shakspeare's company, and even that great company could hardly have given 200 performances at the Globe and 210 at the Blackfriars each year. It seems unlikely that with holidays, fires, plagues, and Puritans to contend against, the King's Men could have given more than 250 performances in the aggregate at their houses.²⁴ 150 of these performances at the Globe, at 10 li per performance, would have earned 75 li. yearly for Shakspeare's one-tenth holding in that house; his one-seventh share of the profits of the remaining 100 performances at the Blackfriars would have brought

worth 4 s. 5 d. (Compare *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 313, and C. Harris, *P. M. L. A.*, September, 1907.)

²⁴ Malone estimated that about 200 performances per year could be given ordinarily (Malone-Boswell, III, 179) and this estimate has been generally accepted as approximately correct. Between 1594 and 1597, however, the Admiral's Men somewhat exceeded this number, and averaged about 225 performances per year. (See *Hens. Diar.*, I, 13-54.) The estimate of 250 performances makes allowance for occasional use of the Blackfriars by visiting companies. (See Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book.) The available evidence would seem to indicate that these occasions were not frequent; even had they been, rental rates were so low that no very large addition to the housekeepers' income would have resulted. Before Shakspeare's company took over the Blackfriars in 1608, the manager of the children's company occupying the house paid only 40 li. annual rent for it. (See Wallace, *Neb. Univ. Stud.*, October, 1910, and the Greenstreet Papers in Fleay's *Stage*.)

a trifle less. Even if Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book did not furnish so palpable a clue in this connection, Lee's estimate of 150 li. net return to Shakspeare from each house would appear excessive, since Shanks, in the 1635 Share Papers testified to his purchase of five Globe and Blackfriars shares in 1633-4 at an average rate of 101 li. each,²⁵ while the actor Swanston is said to have acquired a small holding in the Blackfriars two or three years earlier at the rate of 60 li. per whole share. It seems to me fairly certain, then, that Shakspeare's total income as a housekeeper in the two theatres did not exceed 150 li. yearly, as against Lee's estimate of 300 li.²⁶

Up to this point, then we have seen Shakspeare's "fixed salary" of 180 li. reduced to an actor-sharer's income of 90 li., and 300 li.

* Shanks was trying to make the Lord Chamberlain understand that his investment as a housekeeper was a considerable one; hence his figures certainly do not represent an underestimate.

* Lee (p. 309 ff.) supports his estimate by a more or less debatable interpretation of other litigation concerning shares. A careful reading of the Keysar suit against the Blackfriars housekeepers in 1612, leads me to think that Keysar's estimate of 1500 li. for the housekeepers' profits covers not six months as Lee takes it, but the period from August 9, 1608 to February 8, 1610. Even so, Keysar's estimates and claims are vehemently denied by Burbage, Hemynge, and the rest, who characterize their opponent's charges as "uncertaine, scandalous, untrue," and point to their "apparrant faltes, slaunders & absurdities." The Ostler suit, again, as Lee freely admits, clearly represents an overvaluation of shares, though its purely expository material supplies valuable information concerning the Globe and Blackfriars. Mrs. Ostler (John Hemynge's twenty-year-old daughter, and the widow of one of his young colleagues) in 1615 sued her father for 600 li. This sum represents her estimate of the value of one share each in the Globe and Blackfriars, each share to run fifteen years. These shares, she charges, were being withheld from her by her father. Any conclusions which might be drawn herefrom are subject to discount for two reasons: Hemynge's answer, which might have furnished a corrective for the young lady's guess, is not extant; and her estimate, after all, is concerned not with the yearly income of shares, but with the surrender value of shares having nominally fifteen years to run. (Shanks' shares mentioned above, it should be noted, had a much shorter life.) Finally, Lee throws out of court entirely the evidence supplied by the Witter suit. He does this because Witter's suit was dismissed. Yet the fact remains that, in spite of mutual denials and recriminations, both parties to the suit were agreed that before the fire in 1613 Globe shares were worth not more than 60 li. (For detailed references see bibliography of litigation, Lee, p. 310.)

annual proprietary profits to 150 li. Thus, of the hypothetical total income of over 700 li., 480 li. would appear to be reduced to 240 li.,—just one-half of Lee's estimate. I believe that this proportion will, in general, hold for the three sources of income that remain to be considered, though I cannot deal with them at equal length. The evidence here, it should be noted, is at best very uncertain, and any conclusions that may be reached are bound to be largely conjectural. Notwithstanding this fact, Shakspeare's income as a playwright is an item not to be disregarded, though I am once more forced to think Lee overrates it in crediting Shakspeare with 60 li. annually from this source between 1599 and 1613-14, an average of 50 li. per play for the seventeen plays he wrote during this period. In explaining this estimate Lee calls attention to the fact that Brome, just before the close of the theatres, was getting 20s. weekly in "poet's wages" at the Cockpit. Sir Sidney does not note, however, that in 1598-99 only 6 and 8 li., respectively, were paid for two plays in which no less a man than Brome's master, Ben Jonson, collaborated.²⁷ Even much later Ben lamented the fact that his muse had "proved but a mean mistress" to him, while in 1619 he told Drummond that all his plays had never brought him 200 li.²⁸ He had written a dozen plays of his own at this time, and had collaborated in at least four others, from which it would appear that his plays paid him less than 15 li. each.²⁹ And many of these plays, of course, were produced by Shakspeare's company. It is clear that the playwrights fared better after 1600 than before, but it does not seem likely, in view of the evidence just cited, that even Shakspeare's plays could have brought their author more than a total of 25 li. each,—which is only half the sum Lee assigns to

²⁷ See *Hens. Diar.*, I, 93, 111-12.

²⁸ See *Drummond's Conversations with Ben Jonson*, Shakespeare Soc., 1842, pp. 35, 37, and compare P. Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 92.

²⁹ It is possible, of course, that Jonson stated the case somewhat pessimistically. I may note, however, that in *The Case is Altered*, one of his early plays, the price of 20 li. for a play is set forth as an almost impossible ideal. Antonio Balladino, representing the playwright Anthony Munday, refuses at all costs to write merely to please the gentry. "An they give me twenty pounds a play," he says, "I'll not raise my vein." (Act I, Sc. 1). Of course this might conceivably be a gibe at Munday, but the evidence of Henslowe on Jonson's own earnings at this time makes such an interpretation very doubtful.

them. From this source, then, Shakspeare probably did not draw over 30 li. a year, as against Lee's estimate of 60 li.

In the matter of Shakspeare's income from court performances given by his company, and in general as regards other emoluments accruing to him through patronage of royalty or the nobility, the evidence again warrants a scaling down of Lee's estimate. Sir Sidney notes correctly that as groom of the chamber Shakspeare drew 2 or 3 li. annually.³⁰ On the other hand, in basing his conclusions upon the court payments between 1609 and 1614, Lee overrates that part of Shakspeare's income which was derived from court performances. These payments, according to Lee, averaged 160 li. per year, or 15 li. for Shakspeare, on the assumption that twelve men shared in the gains. I find, however, that between 1603 and 1616 the royal treasury paid Shakspeare's company a total of 1616 li. 13s. 4d. for performances at court, which would bring Shakspeare's annual receipts from this source down to about 10 li.³¹ This brings me once more to a casting up of accounts. I have stated above my reasons for believing that Lee's estimate of 480 li. a year for Shakspeare's earnings as actor-sharer and housekeeper, should be reduced to 240 li. I have now to add that as against the 78 li. a year with which Lee credits Shakspeare as a playwright and court performer, I think we can admit only 43 li. So far, then, as against Lee's estimate of about 560 li. a year for Shakspeare from four of the five sources of income mentioned, the evidence points toward only a trifle over 280 li.

But one further item of importance remains to be considered. Sir Sidney's grand total of over 700 li. provides not only for the

³⁰ Lee speaks also of further "perquisites and gratuities," as an example of which he cites the 1604 grant of 21 li. 12 s. to Shakspeare's company, in payment of three weeks' attendance at court in connection with the extraordinary festivities in honor of the Spanish ambassador. This example sufficiently indicates, however, that the gratuity accruing to the individual sharer was not very large, considering the time spent; such occasions, moreover, could not have been very frequent. Some allowance is, however, made for items of this sort in the amount assigned below to Shakspeare's miscellaneous income. (See Lee, pp. 314, 382.)

³¹ My figures are based upon reprints and summaries of treasury warrants by Chalmers, *Apology*; Collier, *Annals of the Stage*; Chambers, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1906, 1909; Cunningham, *Revels*; Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*.

sums derived from the various sources just discussed, but in addition leaves a residue of about 150 li. yearly, the source of which is not specified but which would presumably represent miscellaneous income from apprentice fees and other occasional perquisites and gratuities.³² Here we are led more and more into the realm of conjecture. There is no evidence, for example, to prove that Shakspeare the actor had an apprentice from whom he might have pocketed a premium on taking him in charge, though it is known that Kemp, Burbage, and Hemyngs among his colleagues were thus provided.³³ Even granting that he had time and inclination to use this source of revenue, it would be difficult to show that his income would have been increased appreciably thereby. Henslowe in 1595 had to pay 2 and 3 li., respectively, in premiums, when he had his nephew and niece apprenticed,³⁴ and though larger sums were sometimes paid we can hardly draw any safe conclusions as to Shakspeare's income from this source, except—in my opinion—that it probably did not amount to very much. On the other hand something should be allowed for Shakspeare's returns from his invested property. All this is so difficult to calculate that I find it safest to leave the matter here. After making all reasonable allowances, it seems to me, in view of the material I have already reviewed in detail, that 150 li. is far too large a sum to assign to Shakspeare's miscellaneous income. I believe that 75 li. would be a generous estimate. In conclusion, then, the reader must decide whether the evidence presented warrants my belief that Shakspeare's income probably did not exceed half the total of over 700 li. a year with which he has been credited.

An income of 350 li. would still have left him a very prosperous man. Mistress Anne Page expresses herself quite definitely on the subject:

“O, what a world of vile ill-favour'd faults
Looks handsome in three hundred pounds a year!”³⁵

³² See note 30 above.

³³ See Lee, p. 314; Malone-Boswell, III, 482, 485, etc.

³⁴ *Hens. Diar.*, I, 78.

³⁵ *Merry Wives*, III, 4, 32. Cf. *II Antonio and Mellida*, IV, 1, 257: “An I were worth but three hundred pound a year more, I could swear richly; nay, but as poor as I am, I will swear the fellow hath wrong.”

Shakspeare's income was probably not much larger than that of Slender, but even so it was large enough to enable him to make those purchases of land and other property in Stratford and London in which, according to Lee, he invested about 70 li. annually between 1599 and 1613, particularly since at least some of his investments are known to have been in interest-bearing property, while others were in part covered by mortgages.³⁶ With 350 li. a year he could have managed to pay also the 15 to 20 li. yearly charges upon his playhouse shares³⁷ and to accumulate the sum of about 375 li. which, in addition to his real property already accounted for above, is all he disposed of in his will.³⁸

It is perhaps not strange, after all, that from their own day down to the present Elizabethan actors should have been reputed wealthier than they probably were. Press agents' stories of the fabulous earnings of modern performers in and out of the legitimate drama—and the public's unfailing appetite for such stories—bear their own significance to the student of the earlier drama. And Elizabethan actors were apparently as quick to realize sound advertising values as any that have followed. Witness the exploitation of Burbage, Condell, Sly, Sinkler, and Lowin in the induction to *The Malcontent*, of Burbage and Field ("your best actors") in *Bartholomew Fair*,³⁹ of Thomas Greene of the Red Bull in *Greene's tu Quoque*, and the gigantic advertising success of *Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder*. No doubt they welcomed the glowing picture of the actor's happy lot presented to the admiring public by the hungry students in the *Return from Parnassus*; probably they did not resent even Robert Greene's half envious account⁴⁰ of their unlimited financial resources. More reliable evidence points unmis-

³⁶ See Lee, pp. 315, 457.

³⁷ Compare note 1 above. In addition to rent of about 7 li. a year on his Globe and Blackfriars shares, Shakspeare had to pay his share toward the rebuilding of the Globe after the 1613 fire, perhaps as much as 100 li. (See Wallace in the *London Times*, October 2-4, 1909, and in *Neb. Univ. Studies*, October 1910.)

³⁸ See reprint in Neilson and Thorndike, *The Facts About Shakespeare*, p. 208.

³⁹ Act V, Sc. 3. On Thomas Greene see Hazlitt, *Dodsley's Old Plays*, XI, 240.

⁴⁰ See *A Groatsworth of Wit*, in Grosart's *Greene*, XII, 131. Lee (p. 298) erroneously places the passage in *Never Too Late*.

takably to a somewhat less extravagant but no less cheering conclusion. It indicates that Shakspeare and his colleagues were comfortably well to do without being plutocrats rolling in wealth. Not even Edward Alleyn, the one very rich man among them, is a real exception to the rule, for he made most of his money by real estate speculation and wisely spent most of it endowing a college.

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TALUS: THE LAW

BY FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD

In his *English Writers*, Morley identifies Talus, the attendant or squire of Artegall, the hero of the Legend of Justice in the *Faerie Queene*, with "the abstract principle of Justice—swift to overtake offenders, strong to punish, untouched by passion or pity, irresistible." Now if Talus is justice in the abstract, Artegall must be justice in the concrete. In that case, however, Artegall ought to be the squire of Talus, and not Talus the squire of Artegall. As a matter of fact, the real office of Talus is explicitly stated when the character is first introduced. While Astraea was upon earth, Talus was her attendant,

But when she parted hence she left her groome,
An yron man, which did on her attend
Alwayes to execute her stedfast doome,
And willed him with Artegall to wend,
And doe what ever thing he did intend:
His name was Talus, made of yron mould,
Immoveable, resistlesse, without end;
Who in his hand an yron flae did hould,
With which he threashd out falshood, and did truth unfould. (V. 1. 12.)

That which executes the judgments of justice, threshes out falsehood and unfolds truth, is not the "abstract principle of Justice," but the law and its ministers. I take the character of Talus, then, to represent the law and the agents who enforce it. The epithets "immoveable" and "resistlesse" well express the rigor of the law, and the "yron flae," the pitiless methods by which the iron law wrenches the truth from those suspected of guilt or punishes those proved guilty. In a verse which lends further support to this interpretation, Talus is called, "The true guide of his (Artegall's) way and vertuous government," for the law is the foundation of government, and the guide of the courts in the application of justice.

This interpretation of the character of Talus will be borne out, I think, by a review of the episodes in which the character figures. The first canto shows justice dealing with a domestic problem. As Artegall and Talus are proceeding on their journey to assist Irena, they come upon a youth lamenting beside the headless body of a

lady. It develops that a certain knight, Sir Sanglier, had been riding in attendance upon this lady, but that when he saw the beautiful companion of the squire who is now lamenting, he took possession of this lady and renounced his former love. Imploring death rather than desertion, she met death at his hands. Talus is sent in pursuit of Sanglier, and identifies her by circumstantial evidence:

Whom at the first he ghessed by his looke,
And by the other markes which of his shield he tooke. (V. 1. 20.)

After sentence is passed upon the disdainful miscreant—to bear the murdered lady's head upon his breast—it is Talus who executes the sentence.

In the second canto, justice deals with extortion, in the persons of Pollente and Munera, the sarazin and his daughter who exact toll from all who pass by their castle, and with communism, in the person of the blustering giant who pretends to be the champion of the common herd, the victims of his demagogism.¹ When Talus storms the castle, Munera tries to appease him with fair words,

But when as yet she saw him to procede
Unmov'd with praiers or with piteous thought,
She ment him to corrupt with goodly meede;
And causde great sakes with endlesse riches fraught
Unto the battilment to be upbrought,
And powred forth over the Castle wall,
That she might win some time, though dearly bought,
Whilest he to gathering of the gold did fall;
But he was nothing mov'd nor tempted therewithall. (V. 2. 23.)

In other words, finding that the law is unmoved by entreaty, the extortioner tries to corrupt it with bribes.

Entered within the castle, it is Talus who at last finds Munera, suggesting the power of the law in tracing crime:

Long they sought, yet no where could they finde her,
That sure they ween'd she was escapt away;
But Talus, that could like a lime-hound winde her,
And all things secrete wisely could bewray,
At length found out whereas she hidden lay
Under an heape of gold.

¹ See the author's paper on "Spenser's Arraignment of the Anabaptists," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, 12. 3.

Though Artegall rues the unhappy plight of Munera,

Yet for no pity would he change the course
Of Justice, which in Talus hand did lye,

for justice must allow the law to punish such an enemy of society.

In the second episode of the canto, Talus shoulders the loud-mouthed giant off the land, just as the law forced the Anabaptists to leave England in 1568. The assault which the noisy rabble then make upon Talus corresponds to the protest that was made against this legislation by those who sympathized with the sect, and just as the "lawlesse multitude" hid in holes and bushes when Talus retaliated, so these Anabaptists sympathizers were silenced by the law.²

In the third canto, justice deals with defrauders, personated by the false Florimel, Braggadochio, and Trompart. Talus shows how the law treats such impostors by breaking the sword of Braggadochio, depriving him of his shield, and scourging him and his accomplice out of court.

In the opening episode of Canto IV, the settlement of the dispute between Bracidas and Amidas, justice is concerned with property rights. In this unique episode, Talus, "that great yron groome," is in attendance upon Artegall as "his gard and government," a most significant expression, as defining his office.

The concluding episode of this canto introduces the question of woman's place in government. A crowd of women, followers of Radigund, who prides herself on reducing all knights to servitude, "like tyrants mercilesse" are leading forth an unfortunate captive, Sir Turpine, to execution. When Artegall inquires as to the offence, the women swarm about him, thinking to lay hands on him as well:

But he was soone aware of their ill minde,
And drawing backe deceived their intent:
Yet, though him selfe did shame on womankinde
His mighty hand to shend, he Talus sent
To wrecke on them their follies hardyment:
Who with few sowces of his yron flae
Dispersed all their troupe incontinent,
And sent them home to tell a piteous tale
Of their vaine prowessee turned to their proper bale. (V. 4. 24.)

² See *Stype, Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal*, 181.

Although I am satisfied that there is a rather specific historical allegory lurking in this episode, in its universal import it concerns the old question of woman's political and legal rights, which had been freshly brought to the fore by Knox's "Monstrous Regiment of Women" and the lively and persistent discussion which it aroused. Knox makes elaborate citations from the laws and quotes abundantly the opinions of Aristotle and the church fathers upon this question:

"I except such as God by singular priuiledge, and for certein causes known onlie to him selfe, hath exempted from the common ranke of women, and do speake of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature I say, doth paynt them furthe to be weake, fraile, impacient, feble and foolishe: and experience hath declared them to be vnconstant, variable, cruell and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment. . . . Yea they further shuld pronounce, that where women reigne or be in authoritie, that there must nedes vanitie be preferred to vertue, ambition and pride to temperancie and modestie, and finallie, that auarice the mother of all mischefe must nedes deuour equitie and iustice (*Arist. 2. Politic*). But lest that we shall seme to be of this opinion alone, let vs heare what others haue seen and decreed in this mater. In the rules of the lawe thus it is written: Women are remoued from all ciuill and publike office, so that they nether may be iudges, nether may they occupie the place of the magistrate, nether yet may they be speakers for other (*Lib. 50 de regulis iuris*). The same is repeted in the third and in the sextenth bokes of the digestes: Where certein persones are forbidden, *Ne pro aliis postulent*, that is, that they be no speakers nor aduocates for others (*3. 16. lib. Digestorum*). And among the rest are women forbidden, and this cause is added, that they do not against shamefastnes intermedle themselues with the causes of others, nether yet that women presume to vse the offices due to men (*Ad Senatus-consult. Velleianum*). The lawe in the same place doth further declare, that a naturall shamfastnes oght to be in womankind, whiche most certeinlie she loseth, when soeuer she taketh vpon her the office and estate of man (*Lib. 3. de postulatione*). . . . In the first boke of the digestes, it is pronounced that the condition of the woman in many cases is worse then of the man. As in iurisdiction (saith the lawe) in receiuing of cure and tuition, in adoption, in publike accusation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherlie power, which she hath vpon her owne sonnes (*De statu hominum, Titul. 8.*). The lawe further will not permit, that the woman geue any thing to her husband, because it is against the nature of her kinde, being the inferiour membre to presume to geue any thing to her head (*Dig. lib. 24. de donatione inter virum et foeninam*). The lawe doth more ouer pronounce womankind to be the most auaricious (which is a vice intolerable in those that shulde rule or minister iustice) (*Lib. 1. Digest. de le gib. et senatuscon, Titul 3.*). And Aristotle, as before is touched, doth plainly affirme, that wher soeuer women beare dominion, there

must nedes the people be disorded, liuinge and abounding in all intemperancie, geuen to pride, excesse, and vanitie. And finallie in the end, that they must nedes come to confusion and ruine (*Politio. 2.*)*

Spenser compresses the same conclusions into the following stanza, taking pains—as also in the character of Britomart (Elizabeth)—to make due allowance for one notable exception to this general condemnation of women:

Such is the crueltie of womenkynd,
When they have shaken off the shamefast band,
With which wise Nature did them strongly bynd
T' obey the heasts of mans well-ruling hand,
That then all rule and reason they withstand
To purchase a licentious libertie:
But vertuous women wisely understand,
That they were borne to base humilitie,
Unlesse the heavens them lift to lawfull soveraintie. (V. 5. 25.)

In his harsh dispersal of the troops of women who attend Radigund, Talus obviously figures as the law.

The fifth canto is peculiarly significant. Artegall, having made the foolish compact with Radigund that whichever was worsted in combat should become subject to the other, is paying the price of his folly by abject servitude. Now, although Talus is the squire of Artegall, expressly assigned the office by Astraea, he refrains from any effort to rescue his lord because he holds an agreement to be sacred:

Yet all that while he would not once assay
To reskew his owne Lord, but thought it just t' obey. (V. 5. 19.)

Thus scrupulously does the poet imply that it is the duty of the law to recognize the inviolability of a contract, even though the contract itself be a vicious one.

In the sixth canto, Talus exemplifies—as elsewhere—the watchfulness of the law by his nocturnal vigilance in the castle of Dolon, where he guards the person of Britomart, who, now become the exemplar of justice, is hastening to the relief of Artegall:

Ne lesse did Talus suffer sleepe to seaze
His eye-lids sad, but watcht continually,
Lying without her dore in great disease:
Like to a Spaniell wayting carefully
Least any should betray his Lady treacherously. (V. 6. 26.)

* Arber ed. 12-14.

With his flail he scatters the "raskall rout" who seek to capture Britomart, for the law is the defender and the preserver of justice.

In the seventh canto, while Britomart is engaged in overcoming Radigund, Talus enters the castle of the Amazon and slays her women, until Britomart in pity stays his hand. The law itself knows no pity. Britomart now restores justice in Radigone, by re-establishing man's rule:

During which space she there as Princess rained,
And changing all that forme of common-weale
The liberty of women did repeale,
Which they had long usurpt; and, them restoring
To men's subjection, did true Justice deale,
That all they, as a Goddesses her adoring,
Her wisdoms did admire, and hearkned to her loring. (V. 7. 42.)

With the eighth canto, Spenser turns his attention to the display of justice in national and international situations. In these episodes Talus would seem to represent military force, that force which is the exponent of national or international justice. The defeat of the Spanish Armada is commonly thought to be represented in the struggle of Prince Arthur and the Soldan. Prince Arthur—the Grace of God—wins this signal victory for England. He is attended by Talus:

And by his stirrup Talus did attend,
Playing his pages part, as he had beene
Before directed by his Lord; to th' end
He should his fiale to final execution bend. (V. 8. 29.)

If my general thesis be correct, this is a figurative way of saying that in this struggle English arms were the strong ally of the Divine Purpose.

In the ninth canto, as Artegall and Prince Arthur journey to the court of Mercilla—Elizabeth—, they learn of Guyle, who lives in a nearby cave. They agree to exterminate the monster, and it is Talus who, after the monster has assumed, in his cunning, a variety of shapes, finally captures and kills him. As the balance of this canto and the opening stanzas of the next are given over to the vindication of England's policy in executing Mary Queen of Scots, it seems not unlikely that the character of Guyle is intended to represent Mary's crafty allies in England, especially

the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, who, after many sinuous turnings and twistings, was finally brought to execution in 1572.

The major portion of the tenth canto and the first half of the eleventh are concerned with England's succor of the Low Countries, Prince Arthur represented as going to the relief of Belge, newly-widowed. Talus does not accompany Prince Arthur on this expedition, but attends his own knight, Artegall, who in the meantime has returned to his original quest of relieving Irena.

As they proceed, Artegall, after much indecision, is induced to lend his aid to Bourbon. Literally, this of course means that Spenser entertained some doubt as to whether or not justice was on the side of Henry IV. In the struggle which ensues, Talus chases the base rabble over hill and dale,

Ne ceased not, till all their scattered crew
Into the sea he drove quite from that soyle,
The which they troubled had with great turmoyle. (V. 11. 65.)

Such were the stern methods of military suppression by which Henry established his beneficent reign.

In Canto Twelve, Artegall finally achieves his quest, the relief of Irena. As all scholars agree, this canto deals with the English policy in Ireland. Artegall represents justice as personified in Lord Grey, and Talus represents the harsh laws that were made for the subjugation of the Irish and the harsh military methods by which Lord Grey sought to enforce these laws:

During which time that he did there remayne,
His studie was true Justice how to deale,
And day and night employ'd his busie paine
How to reforme that rugged common-weale:
And that same yron man, which could reveale
All hidden crimes, through all that realme he sent
To search out those that usd to rob and steale,
Or did rebell gainst lawfull government;
On whom he did inflict most grievous punishment. (V. 12. 26.)

The last mention of Talus is in the concluding stanza of the book, where he is barely restrained from attacking Envy, who has sought to poison the good name of Artegall—Grey—upon his return to Faerie Land, a manifest reference to the abuse which Grey received upon his return to England:

But Talus, hearing her so lewdly raille,
And speake so ill of him that well deserved,
Would her have chastiz'd with his yron flaile,
If her Sir Artegall had not preserved,
And him forbidden, who his heast observed.

This means, I take it, that mere detraction does not properly come within the scope of the law. The public servant, or that justice which he embodies, must expect to be misunderstood, and defamation is not to be remedied by a harsh resort to law, however strong the inclination to attempt it.

Such, in brief, is the interesting part that Talus plays in this legend of justice. There can be little doubt, I think, that Spenser intends the character to stand for the law.

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SPENSER'S FAIRY MYTHOLOGY

BY EDWIN GREENLAW

Spenser's use of fairy mythology, and the fairy mythology that he invented, have alike been neglected, though these matters have an important bearing upon the structure and meaning of the *Faerie Queene*. What makes this neglect the more surprising is that the poem, on the surface at least, belongs to the category of Arthurian romance. Yet since none of the great knights of the Round Table figures in it, and none of the great stories is to be found, as they are found, for example, in Tennyson's *Idylls*, scholars apparently content themselves with recognizing that Spenser imitates the spirit rather than the letter of Arthurian romance, and with identification of scattered incidents or episodes. A German thesis on Spenser's debt to Malory leaves one with the impression that this debt is like the famous snakes of Ireland, and it has even been maintained that for certain elements that are the basis of the structure Spenser was chiefly indebted to Chaucer's *Thopas*, itself a burlesque romance that Spenser, lacking humor, took as seriously as his critics. Not very much progress has been made in this field of Spenser criticism since the days of Warton. Even Miss Winstanley's excellent editions of Books I and II, in which are summaries of the debt to the medieval romances, show few additions in spite of the widespread interest, in recent years, in everything relating to Arthurian romance. The contrast with what has been learned about Spenser's debt to Plato and Aristotle, and to the romantic epics of Ariosto and Tasso, is very striking. Moral allegory, Platonism, and Ariosto, increased in recent years by a clearer perception of Spenser's political allegory, seem to cover most of the investigation of Spenser's sources.

I. *The Realm and its Sovereign*

Robert Laneham's *Letter*, describing the elaborate entertainment that Leicester prepared in honor of the Queen's visit to Kenilworth in 1575, is filled with such materials as Spenser afterwards combined into his poem. The "Princely Pleasures" included chivalry, folklore, classical myth, use of symbol and allegory,

glorification of the sovereign, bits from Malory, music and art, the masque,—all in just such profusion as we find them in the *Faerie Queene*. In it the library of the worthy Captain Cox takes on a sort of fantastic life and goes through its paces like Sir Andrew at Toby's bidding. It isn't art, and it isn't life, but the Elizabethans liked this sort of thing, as many illustrations might be cited to prove.¹ Perhaps Spenser was present; he certainly knew about the pageant, and it might well have suggested some projects to him.

As for example: the outstanding theme in Leicester's pageant is the glorification of Elizabeth. She isn't called a fairy queen, but the suggestion is trembling beneath the surface of all that goes on. The chief figure, among the multitudinous mummers, is the Lady of the Lake. When the Queen and her party approached Kenilworth, which was "situate upon a Rock" surrounded by a "faire Poole, conteyning 111 acres,"¹ they were met by the Lady of the Lake. This personage was on a "movable island" which floated to the land. On reaching harbor, the Lady informed Her Majesty that she had kept the lake since King Arthur's time, but that she now yielded it to the Queen, "with promise of repayre unto the Court."² Near the end of the festivities, Triton, on a "swimming Mermayd," begged a boon of the Queen, to the effect that she should release from enchantment the Lady of the Lake, who had been persecuted by an uncourteous knight. The boon was granted, the Lady freed, and in recompense Arion appeared upon a Dolphin's back and the music that followed so delighted Laneham that he despaired of expressing his pleasure, though French was called to the aid of his English in the attempt.³ Now both these scenes are suggested by "King Arthur's Book," to which there are other references, and they remind us, as the entire pageant reminds us, of the *Faerie Queene*. It is of course only a coincidence, but Laneham describes the adventures of twelve days; we are reminded, if we surrender ourselves to the spirit of fancy that permeates the story, of Spenser's "Faery Queen [who] kept her

¹ Report of Henry VIII's surveyors, cited by Furnivall in his edition of the *Letter*, p. 63.

² *Robert Laneham's Letter*, ed. Furnivall, pp. 6-7.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-35.

Annuaill feaste xii severall dayes." ⁴ But there is more than fancy here. Leicester's entertainment was presided over by the Queen, and these days were filled with "adventures," like that other annual feast "uppon which severall dayes, the occasion of the xii several adventures hapned." Moreover, the unity of the entertainment, if it may be said to have any unity, is found in this idea of a sovereign who takes over a realm that is in truth "fulfild of fairye." Even in Leicester's twelve days' pageant, crude as it is, there is more than a suggestion of the Celtic Otherworld, with its Lady of the Lake, a true *fée*, its magic and enchantment, its fusing of ancient and medieval, its sovereign lady Queen.

With this central theme ready to hand, let us inquire a bit further into Spenser's *faerie*.

The realm of Gloriana is two-fold: England, in the historical allegory; the Celtic Otherworld in the fairy aspect. In the proem to Book II, both senses are found in clear connection. Spenser asks where is "that happy land of Faery," only to remind the reader that every day great regions are being discovered that always have existed though men were unaware. "Certain signes" will reveal this land to the 'one who seeks; by which he means, of course, such signs as are familiar in Celtic folklore. But he goes on at once to say that Elizabeth may find her own realm to be this "lond of Faery." This double sense is kept throughout the poem, with a variety of effects. Arthur has had a vision of the Fairy Queen, but has sought vainly for her realm. Yet with Guyon he is in Fairy Land all the time. Guyon visits the Celtic Otherworld three times: it is on Phaedria's island; in the Underworld of Mammon; and in Acrasia's Bower of Bliss. On the other hand, Britomart says that she has come from her native soil, "the greater Britaine," to "Faery lond" because she has heard of famous knights and ladies that inhabit that realm. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of this double geography; the one point that I wish to make, as a basis for what is to follow, is that Spenser fuses the well known romance and folklore conception of a land of enchantment, difficult of access, with a quite arbitrary and literal conception of England as the scene in which the action of his poem takes place.

⁴Letter to Raleigh. The Queen was at Kenilworth 19 days, but only 12 are accounted for by Laneham.

II. *Celtic Faerie in Spenser*

● Celtic originals and analogues of certain parts of the *Faerie Queene* are more frequent than has been supposed. The subject is too broad for complete study here; it merits a thorough investigation by a specialist in Celtic who also knows Spenser's work well enough to be aware of certain peculiarities in his method. My purpose is merely to indicate several characteristics of Spenser's use of this fairy magic, which differs from his employment of ordinary romance conventions, in order to make clear a special definition of the fairy *dramatis personae* in his poem.

Sometimes a similarity between one of Spenser's stories and one by Ariosto or Tasso conceals the ultimate sources. Britomart is like Bradamante in many respects; her name and some details Spenser takes from the pseudo-Vergilian *Ciris*; yet the most important fact about her is something quite distinct from either the Italian or the Latin source. It is as though one should identify the story of the Lady of the Lake, cited above, with some classical source because Triton and Arion figure in it. Spenser's method ● is composite; a brief incident, even a stanza, may reflect many elements. For this reason, the study of his sources is fraught with peculiar perils. Thus, Artegal's captivity by Radigund is thoroughly rationalized, yet it is unquestionably related to the large number of legends in which a mortal is captured by a *fée* who offers him her love, with imprisonment as a penalty for refusal. Of clearer significance is the episode in which Calidore comes upon Colin piping while the three Graces, with Rosalind in addition, are dancing (VI. x). This scene is filled, after Spenser's wont, with reminiscences of the classics; there is also the pastoral setting of the shepherd piping to his lass; there is the compliment contained in her inclusion among the Graces, and the reminiscence, comparatively late in the life of the poet, of the Rosalind of his youth. But underneath is a thread of pure Celtic folklore, as the following analysis of the incident will show:

Calidore, separated from Pastorella for a time, wanders into a place that is "far from all people's troad." The scene passes all others on earth in beauty,—a hill in the midst of a plain bordered about with woods of matchless height, so that the trees seem to disdain the earth. At the foot of the hill a gentle stream flows; to its pure waters no beast or clown

may come near. By the banks, guarding the stream and the hill, are Nymphs and Fairies; they sing to the accompaniment of the water's fall. As Calidore approaches the hill, he hears sweet music and the sound of dancing feet. He does not venture into the open, but peeping from the covert of the woods has a sight of a hundred maidens dancing; in the midst are three others, who in turn surround a damsel like the precious gem in the midst of a ring. This damsel is crowned with a rose garland, and is continually pelted by flowers thrown upon her by the dancers. Calidore gazes long at the sight, uncertain whether it is a company of Venus' followers, or nymphs, or fairies, or an "enchanted show." At length he approaches, to test the reality of what he sees, but all vanish save the shepherd Colin.

Despite the classical myth and the pastoral conventions in this passage, the foundation is that of the fairy vision, widely known in folklore. Colin, a mortal in love with a *fée*, has become an inhabitant of her world. His life is so happy that Calidore, momentarily forgetting his own love

had no will away to fare,
But wisht that with that shepherd he mote dwelling share.

All the details,—the fairy hill, far-off from human pathway, guarded by fairies against the approach of anything unclean; the fairy music, heard from a great distance; the hundred dancers, the *fée* herself in the center of the group; the disappearance at the approach of a mortal not initiated into the mysteries of the fairy folk,—all these are commonplaces in folk tradition. Even today in Ireland, peasants tell of the music of the "good people," of the sacred hills, of the dancers.⁵

The incident just analyzed gives pretty clear proof of Spenser's acquaintance with the fairy traditions of the folk. There are good reasons for believing that he must have known many such traditions. His friendship with the Sidneys (Sir Henry was for a time Lord President of Wales); his antiquarian instincts, manifested not only in his prolonged study of many ancient chronicles in preparation for writing the chronicle passages in the *Faerie Queene*, but also in his prose tract on Ireland, in which he shows no little knowledge of folk customs and belief; the fact that he lived in Ireland for ten years before publishing the first part of

⁵ For illustrations recently taken down from the lips of peasants see Wentz, *Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries*, pp. 31-32; 79-80; 296 ff. See also Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 90-91, and the index.

the poem, to say nothing of the relation between the subject-matter of that poem and the stuff with which folk tradition deals,—are all reasons for expecting that in so long a poem, written by a man of wide learning and interests, we should find materials of this nature. It may also be noted that he introduces Welsh words into his chronicle, and that he recognizes in the tract on Ireland the affinity among the languages spoken in Ireland, Cornwall, and Wales. Most, if not all, of the *Faerie Queene* as we have it was written in Ireland; Spenser could not but have heard many tales about the *Sídh* folk; his poem reflects this kind of learning as well as classical philosophy and the thousand other things with which it is filled.

- ✱ The story of Guyon, for instance, is full of suggestions of Celtic *faerie*. The prologue, as already noted, contains the distinction between the mysterious Otherworld realm and the literal identification of Fairy Land with Britain. Guyon's principal adventures are three in number, and they are closely related. The first is the Phaedria episode, which fundamentally is the story of a *fée* who dwells in an enchanted island to which she lures mortals whom she desires to become her lovers. One of these, Cymochles, is already in her power when she tempts Guyon. Her island is reached by a magic boat, to which she invites her victim, but which moves of its own volition. The island is filled with flowers; wonderful music is heard. But Guyon is "wise, and wary of her will," so the enchantress has no power over him. Some details
- Spenser assuredly owes to Tasso's story of Armida, also a story of a *Dame du Lac*, but the management of the episode is such as to leave no doubt that he had in mind also other stories of amorous *fays*.⁶

Guyon's second adventure is the journey to the Underworld (canto VII), equally well known in romance and tradition. This episode owes much to classical literature, as Warton pointed out,⁷ but here again Spenser adds many details not to be so explained.

Guyon meets, in a "gloomy glade" very remote from all human habitation, an uncouth wight who guards a treasure. Seeing the knight

⁶ For a discussion of the *fée* known as *La Dame du Lac* see Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 167 ff. Miss Paton gives also a long list of instances in which a magic boat is employed as a means of entering the fairy world, p. 16, n. 1.

⁷ *Observations on the Faerie Queene*, pp. 55 ff.

approach, the old man tries to hide his treasure, but is too late. Therefore he proposes that Guyon shall serve him. After some parley, the knight enters the Underworld, where he sees first, vast treasures; next, the goddess of worldly ambition (a beautiful woman whom the old man proposes to Guyon as his *amie*); and finally the garden of Proserpine, which is filled with trees bearing golden apples. The climax of the temptation is reached when the old man begs Guyon to take some of the golden fruit and to rest on a silver stool under the tree.

This story finds many analogues in Celtic folk tradition. Warton criticizes it as violating the pagan myth.⁸ The answer is that Spenser was not depending on classical tradition alone; he is quite as much influenced, for example, by stories of the visit of a hero of romance to the Underworld; Arthur and Cúchulainn among others. The old man who guards a fairy hill is a stock character; sometimes he is a *leprechaun*, who guards a treasure that he tries to hide when he is caught by a mortal; sometimes he is a fairy king. Again, the idea that to touch any object in the Underworld will necessitate remaining in the power of the fairy owner is not only a part of the Proserpina myth, but of Celtic folk tradition generally. The very nature of Guyon's temptation: the offer of riches, love, fame, is in the story of Murrrough.⁹ Guyon's sight of souls suffering the tortures of hell, which seems to owe something to Dante, is analogous to the legends about magic islands converted into places of eternal punishment. But the most significant detail is that of the apples. Since Warton's time the relation between Spenser's account of the Garden of Proserpina and Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae* has been recognized. In this we have the famous golden bough. But while Warton sees in the silver stool "a new circumstance of temptation," he does not explain it. In Celtic tradition resting beneath an apple tree subjected one to danger from fays. Lancelot, for example, is sleeping under an apple tree when he is seized by fays and carried into captivity.¹⁰ Ogier comes to an orchard, eats an apple, and is soon in the power of Morgain. Avalon is "apple land." Cormac takes a branch bearing three golden apples on the invitation of an old man and this is the prelude to a series of adventures in the

⁸ P. 57: "As the mythology of the Pagans was their religion, the violation of it is hardly excusable."

⁹ Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 440.

¹⁰ In the prose *Lancelot*. Cited by Paton, pp. 51-52, and the notes.

Otherworld.¹¹ When Teigue reached the Happy Otherworld there were in it many red-laden apple trees, and at the third *dún* the hero met a mortal youth, with his *amie*, and the apple which caused his captivity was still in his hand, since it renewed itself as fast as it could be consumed.¹² The journey of Teigue through the Otherworld is somewhat like Guyon's, in that there is a series of magic palaces. But the temptation motif is not stressed.

Besides his reference to the apple as a means of binding a mortal to the powers of the Otherworld, Spenser may also have in mind another commonplace, the cauldron of plenty, as the basis for his vivid description of the dwarfs stirring the cauldrons filled with molten gold. Arthur made a journey to Annwn, similar to Cúchulainn's raid on the stronghold of Scáth, to get possession of such a cauldron.¹³ Spenser's substitution of a scene that reminds one of a modern blast-furnace more than of anything suggesting food is explicable because of the peculiar nature of the temptation to which Guyon is being subjected. But the dwarfs stirring the treasure cauldrons are good fairy folk. As to the temptation motif, though it is perfectly true that the majority of tales in which a mortal becomes a denizen of *faerie* through some such device of enchantment as the apple convey the sense of good fortune rather than of sin, there is precedent for Spenser's idea that the good man will refuse to be so entrapped. For example, there is the adventure of Collen:

Collen is summoned on three successive days to an interview with Gwyn ab Nûd, king of Annwn, "on the top of the hill at noon."¹⁴ After the third summons, he obeys, and enters from the hill a fair castle filled with beautiful youths and damsels and with the most exquisite music. The king welcomes Collen and desires him to eat. "I will not eat the leaves of the tree," says Collen, and after some further parley, he throws holy water on their heads, and they vanish, "so that there was neither castle, nor troops, nor men, nor maidens, nor music, nor song, nor steeds, nor

¹¹ Cited by Wentz, pp. 340 ff.

¹² Cited by Wentz, 348 ff. See also Paton, p. 3.

¹³ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 264-266; 276.

¹⁴ For stories about Gwyn, who was a Fairy King well-known in Welsh tradition, see Rhys, 341, 364, 391, etc.; *Mabinogion* ed. Guest, 263. His castle was on Glastonbury Tor. According to one tradition, he was the lover of Cordelia, daughter of Lear. Certain features of his story,—his connection with the underworld, his rule over the elves, etc., suggest Spenser's Guyon. Spenser stresses Guyon's connection with the elves.

youths, nor banquet, nor the appearance of any thing whatever, but the green hillocks."¹⁵

The last of Guyon's adventures is the two days' journey to the enchanted island which contained Acrasia's Bower of Bliss. Here the debt to Tasso for details is more marked than in the Phaedria passage, though both incidents go back to the familiar Celtic theme. On the way to the island, Guyon and his companions pass other enchanted islands, on one of which they see

A daintie damsel dressing of her heare,
By whom a little skippet floting did appeare.

(II, xii, 14)

She calls to them but they pass on. There is no need to summarize the familiar story of the Bower. Acrasia is a *fée*, and when Guyon and his companions find her she is in the company of her mortal lover. The whole adventure is motivated by Guyon's acceptance, at the beginning of his book, of the task of avenging the babe with bloody hands, whose father had been enticed by the *fée* and his mother driven to suicide because of the tragedy. Thus Acrasia possesses the characteristic of so many *fées*, cruelty and lust.

Finally, it is worth observing that these three adventures of Guyon, producing as they do a totality of effect quite different from anything in Tasso or Ariosto, suggest the Celtic *imrama*. Two of the three fairy worlds in which the marvelous adventures take place are islands, reached by a journey over seas filled with marvels. The other, the Underworld to which the strange old man leads Guyon, is not an island, but it is curious to observe that Spenser introduces the incident by comparing his hero's course to that of a mariner on perilous wave.¹⁶ On the way to the Bower of Bliss, also, Guyon and his companions pass other marvelous islands, on which a hero like Maelduin or like Bran, for instance, would have stopped for delightful adventures. Other comparisons with the

¹⁵ Summarized from Lady Charlotte Guest's version in the *Mabinogion*, pp. 264-265. It is also in Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 338-340.

¹⁶ The Celts, according to Rhys (*Arthurian Legend*, pp. 329-330), had two ideas about the realm of the dead. One was an island, the other "a fairy settlement entered through a hill such as Mider inhabited in some Irish legends, and such as the fairies are most commonly believed to inhabit in Wales." A *tor* might be called an "island" in Welsh; so it was with Glastonbury (Avalon).

imrama will suggest themselves to any one who has followed the discussion of Guyon's adventures.¹⁷ Guyon's story owed much to other sources, but the influence of Celtic romance is constant and pervasive.

Besides these stories of *f erie*, all of which are more or less overlaid with materials drawn from other sources, and besides the casual references to fairy characters and incidents, such, for example, as the ensnaring of Merlin by the Lady of the Lake (III, iii, 7 ff.), there are two illustrations of the belief in *f es* that should be noted. The first of these is the story of Agap  (IV, ii, 44-45), in which Spenser follows exactly the traditions about the skill in leech-craft, mastery of the secrets of nature, and ability to attract to her whomsoever she might desire popularly supposed to belong to these creatures. Of the mother of Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond, we read:

Their mother was a Fay, and had the skill
Of secret things, and all the powres of nature,
Which she by art could use unto her will,
And to her service bind each living creature,
Through secret understanding of their feature.
Thereto she was right faire, whenso her face
She list discover, and of goodly stature:
But she, as Feyes are wont, in privie place
Did spend her dayes, and lov'd in forests wyld to space.

There on a day a noble youthly knight,
Seeking adventures in the salvage wood,
Did by great fortune get of her the sight
As she sate carelesse by a cristall flood
Combing her golden lockes, as seemed her good;
And unawares upon her laying hold,
That strove in vaine him long to have withstood,
Oppresed her, and there (as it is told)
Got these three lovely babes, that prov'd three champions bold.

In this account it should be observed that the fay is of "goodly stature," like the Irish *S idhe* folk, not one of the "little people" who constitute a different fairy race. Irish peasants still speak of

¹⁷ Those who see in the Mammon passage, for instance, nothing but Vergilian influence, may find interest in a paper on "Vergil's *Aeneid* and the Irish *Imrama*: Zimmer's Theory," by W. F. Thrall, in *Modern Philology*, December, 1917. Mr. Thrall, of course, says nothing about Spenser.

these "good people" as of majestic appearance and marvellous beauty. They are the subjects of Dana, a fairy queen. It is in some such sense that Spenser conceives his fairies, who have nothing in common with the fairy tribe celebrated in Shakespeare, Jonson, Herrick, and other poets. Spenser's fairy also resembles the *Sidhe* people in that she reveals herself to mortals when she wishes; ordinarily it is only by a happy chance that a mortal may surprise one of her race. Finally, it is possible that Spenser may here be using a story to the effect that the Earl of Desmond one day saw Aine, a *fée*, combing her hair on the bank of the river Carmóg, near Lough Gur. He was infatuated by her beauty and gained control over her through seizing her cloak. From their union was born the enchanted hero Geróid, who lives in the under-lake world.¹⁸ If this conjecture is correct, we have direct proof of Spenser's acquaintance with Irish fairy stories. ↙

We now turn to Arthur's vision of the Fairy Queen:

After his rescue of Redcross, Arthur tells the story of his vision to the knight and Una, in response to their question as to what had brought him to Fairy Land. One day, tired out with riding, he alighted from his horse and lay down to sleep. In a dream, a "royall Mayd" came to him and declared her love, saying that this, "when just time expired, should appeare." Never was heart so ravished with delight, nor did living man ever hear such lovely words as she spoke. When she left him, she said that she was "Queene of Faeries." He awoke, to find that it was not all dream, for the impression of her form remained on the grass beside him. Since that day, he has spent his whole time in searching for her, but without success. (I, ix, 13-15.)

This incident requires very little explanation, since it introduces the well-known fairy mistress theme. A *fée* is enamored of a young knight, appears to him in a vision or while he is resting after an adventure, and offers him her love. Usually they are at once united. The lover is warned not to tell any one about his *amie*, or some other prohibition is put upon him. If he disobeys, as is often the case, his *amie* disappears and he searches for her, often without success, for a long time. The fairy mistress aids her lover in war, and becomes his protectress. Familiar illustrations of the theme are the stories of Thomas Rhymer, of Ogier, of Lanval, etc. Morgain the Fay often figures in such episodes; she is not only

¹⁸ The story is told by Wentz, *Fairy Faith*, p. 79.

amorous but also possesses certain characteristics of the Irish war goddess, the Morrigan.¹⁹ The Lady of the Lake instructs her lovers in the arts of war.²⁰ Both Morgain and the Lady of the Lake are powerful *fées* who are connected with Arthur in various stories.

III. *Fairies and Britons*

The significance of the vision of the Fairy Queen is that by this device Spenser is able to establish the basis on which his poem rests. The traditional Arthur was a British king about whose birth many mysterious legends clustered, and who, at the end of his life, was received in *Faerie*, after that last great battle in the West, to be healed of his grievous wound by Morgain, or *La Dame du Lac*, or by these and other powerful fays together.²¹ After a long sojourn in *Faerie*, he was to come again and rule Britain. This belief is extant in parts of Wales today, as it was in Layamon's time. Lydgate phrases it compactly:

He [Arthur] is a king y-crowned in Fairye;
With sceptre and pall, and with his regalty,
Shall he resort, as lord and soveraigne
Out of Fairye, and reigne in Britaine.

(*Falls of Princes*, VIII, 24.)

Spenser's use of this tradition about the fairy sovereign gives the clue to the idea on which the entire poem rests. The interpretation is to be found in the return, through the Welsh house of Tudor, of the old British line to the throne of England, now long occupied by strangers. To state the proposition concisely: *Spenser conceives the Tudor rule as a return of the old British line; he conceives Elizabeth Tudor as the particular sovereign, coming out of Faerie, whose return fulfils the old prophecy.* That is to say, the poem is at once a glorification of Elizabeth's ancestry and a glorification of the Queen as an individual. Had England's greatness in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, Spenser's time, an era which the poet recognized as not only putting the realm on a new footing of prosperity and power but also as marking the beginning of a far-reaching imperial policy,—had this greatness come during

¹⁹ See Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, index s. v. "Morrigan."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 170 ff.

²¹ See Paton, ch. iii, and Rhys, ch. xiv.

the rule of a Tudor king, Spenser would have figured that king under the name of Prince Arthur. But his sovereign was a woman. The prophecy, then, is fulfilled through personifying, in Arthur, the spirit of Great Britain, now united to the Faerie Queene herself. This is not only an excellent poetical device; it is also a most interesting development of the Arthurian legend, true to the spirit of that legend if not to its letter. It is also quite in keeping with Spenser's method of complex allegory, a method by which different qualities and forces, different attributes of perfection, are, like Plato's *ideas*, embodied now in one concrete form and now in another.

These statements are, I think, capable of nearly formal proof. To begin with, there is a sharp distinction, throughout the *Faerie Queene*, between *fairy* knight and British. Thus, Artegal is a changeling, not a fairy: ↑

He wonneth in the land of Fayeree,
Yet is no fairy borne, ne sib at all
To Elfes, but sprong of seed terrestriall,
And whylom by false fairies stolen away. (III, iii, 26.)

Guyon, on the other hand, is "elfin borne"; he was of noble state and "mickle worship in his native land"; he had been knighted by Huon (II. i. 6). Amphisa was a fairy "by race" (III. vi. 4). Priamond and his brothers were born of a fay (IV. ii. 44). Redcross, however, was "sprong out from English race, However now accompted Elfins sonne." The Hermit goes on to explain that he came from the ancient race of Saxon kings, but was stolen as a child by a fairy who left her own child and took Redcross to fairy land where he was brought up by a ploughman.²² Furthermore, Prince Arthur, not a fairy but a "Briton knight," seeks Gloriana, the Fairy Queen, whom he has seen in a vision. Her image he bears on his shield. Guyon, a Fairy knight, promises to aid him in his quest, and they are companions throughout the second book. In the House of Alma they read with delight ancient chronicles that set forth the origin of each: Arthur reads *Briton Moniments* and Guyon *Antiquitee of Faery Lond*.

²² I, x, 60-67. Compare the "Birth of St. George," in Percy, and the story of the "weird ladye of the woods." The Hermit tells Redcross that he is to be known as "Saint George of mery England."

Summarizing the evidence thus far, we note: (1) the careful distinction between the two classes of knights, a distinction that is preserved both for the great knights and for the lesser figures as well. (2)⁷ The hero of Book I is a Briton; of Book II is a Fairy. Yet there is no distinction in appearance, size or personal character, the distinction is of race. Both classes of knights perform valorous deeds against enchantment; the Fairy possesses no supernatural power, for example, as against the Briton. (3) Arthur, contrary to certain folk traditions, is not a fairy sovereign; Gloriana is.

We come now to a consideration of the place of the chronicles in the *Faerie Queene*. These are found in II. x., in which is given a rhymed chronicle of British kings from Brutus to Uther, and in III. iii., where the history is continued in the form of Merlin's prophecy to Britomart concerning her descendants as far as Cadwallader, last of the kings. Only Arthur and his son are omitted. Miss Carrie M. Harper, in her excellent study of the sources of Spenser's history, has suggested that the British point of view and the interest in Welsh tradition, "may be partly accounted for by the Welsh blood of the Tudors."²³ It is safe to go much farther than this. Far from being mere episodes, these chronicles are important structurally. This is indicated by the elaborate invocations prefixed to the cantos containing the historical material, and also by Spenser's repeated statements that in this poem he is celebrating the ancestry of the Queen.²⁴ Moreover, while Spenser's chronicle deals only with British kings and is thus a recognition of Elizabeth's British ancestry, the point is driven home by means of the fairy chronicle, which is definitely referred to the Tudor house. Most of the fairy monarchs have the word *elf* incorporated in their names, from Elfe, the founder of the dynasty, who wedded a fay, through Elfin,²⁵ Elfinan, Elffline, Elffnell, Elfant, Elfar,

— ²³ *Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*, p. 181.

²⁴ Compare, for example, II., Prologue, st. iv, where the English realm is called the "lond of Faery" and in this "antique ymage" the Queen is asked to see her "great auncestry." See also the invocations to II. x., and III. iii.

²⁵ The name Elphin is often met in Welsh folk tales. One hero of that name was the finder of the bard Taliessin. See *Mabinogion*, ed. Guest, p. 325; Rhys, p. 318, etc.

Elfinor, down to Elficleos, who is identified with Henry VII. Oberon* (Henry VIII) succeeded, since Elferon (Prince Arthur) died before his father, and the last reigning monarch is Tanaquil (Gloriana), by whom Spenser means Elizabeth.²⁶

By this means Spenser is able to bridge the gap in chronology necessary to his design; he omits all reference to Saxon or Norman kings, or to kings of England prior to Henry VII. The past, both near and remote, is blended with the present. Arthur and Gloriana are in one sense the ancestors of Elizabeth; in another sense they are now living, rulers of England.²⁷ This fact may be plainly seen if we add to these two chronicles the revelation of Britomart's descendants as given to her by Merlin (III. iii. 26 ff.). Artegal, whom Britomart is to wed, is not a fairy, though he thinks he was born from the union of an elf with a fay. In truth, Merlin says, he is son of Gorlois and brother of the Cornish king, Cador. The name Artegal comes from the chronicles and, as Miss Harper observes (pp. 143-144), the device makes up for the omission of the historical Arthur here and in Book II. At the end of Merlin's list of kings we are told that the Britons will be driven out first by a Raven (the Danes) and then by the Lion of Neustria (William of Normandy), but that "when the term is full accomplished . . . a sparke of fire" shall break forth from Mona and

So shall the Briton blood their crowne agayn reclame.²⁸

Thus Spenser once more covers the period from 1228 when Llewellyn, the last British prince, gave up Wales and retired to Anglesey (Mona), where Henry VII was afterwards born. By this means the chronological interim is bridged, as by the device of the fairy genealogy in II, x, and we are once more brought to the Tudor regime.

Preparatory to an interpretation of these facts it is necessary to recall the various aspects under which Elizabeth appears. As

²⁶ The passage is in II. x. 70 ff. The Welsh word for Elves is *Ellyllon*, a point not without significance here.

²⁷ Thus, for example, in II. x. 4 Spenser says that Elizabeth's name, realm, and race come from Prince Arthur. Here he is thinking of the historical Arthur, ancestor of Elizabeth in the literal sense.

²⁸ Mona is one of the "Isles of the Dead," like Avalon (Glastonbury), according to Rhys, p. 356. Thus the fairy-return idea comes once more.

Gloriana, she typifies not only the glory but the "rule" of England.²⁹ As Belpheobe and, to a certain extent, as Britomart, she typifies chastity. But as Britomart she is primarily representative of British power, the warlike might of England.³⁰ As Mercilla, she is Elizabeth the merciful, the poet's interpretation of her unwillingness to sentence Mary of Scotland to death. She is also, of course, Cynthia, a conception parallel to that of Belpheobe; and Tanaquil, the daughter of Henry VIII. Of all these conceptions, that of Gloriana *plus* Britomart is by far the most constant and important. The union between Arthur and Gloriana and that between Artegal and Britomart then become significant of Spenser's fundamental conception in the structure of the poem. How closely knit the two stories are is indicated by the facts, already pointed out, that Artegal parallels Arthur in an important sense in the chronicles, and that Britomart, in Book III at least, plays Arthur's rôle. The full significance of this conception it is now possible to define.

● By *Fairy* Spenser means *Welsh*, or, more accurately, *Tudor*, as distinguished from the general term British. He looks on England as Britain, ignoring, for the purpose of his poem, post-Conquest history.³¹ The Tudor dynasty, therefore, brings back the ancient British line, and one purpose of the poem is to celebrate this fact in compliment to the Queen. But Gloriana, the Faerie Queene, is *Elizabeth Tudor*. The old British spirit, the real England, represented in Prince Arthur, finds in her "glory," in the rich connota-

²⁹ See the *Letter*, the proem to II, stanzas 4 and 5, and the proem to III., st. 5.

³⁰ Strictly speaking, the third book deals with the rescue of Amoret. Scudamore, the knight who should be the hero of the book, does not succeed in accomplishing his "adventure," so Britomart comes to his assistance. Thus Britomart is the counterpart of Arthur in the other books, with the difference that while Arthur renders assistance to Redcrosse and Guyon in their hour of need, each of the titular heroes of the first two books achieves his final "adventure" without any aid from the "greatest knight in the world." It is this well-known romance convention that Spenser makes use of in his poem, not the idea that no one virtue is sufficient but that Magnificence includes them all.

³¹ The words "England" and "English" occur only a few times in the entire *F. Q.* St. George (Redcrosse) belongs to "mery England"; he is sprung from "English race," born of "English blood" (I. x. 60-64). The only other examples of the use of the word have nothing to do with what is discussed in this paper.

tion given that term in the Renaissance, and also the powerful government ("rule"—see the proem to III, stanza 5) that was making England a great European power and was the prophecy of the coming British imperialism. Thus the epic celebrates both the ancestry of Elizabeth, the return of the old British strain, and also her greatness as an individual. The title that Spenser chooses for his poem takes on new significance.

It remains only to add that the Britomart-Artegal story relates primarily to Great Britain. The deeds of Artegal, for example, as I have pointed out elsewhere,³² reflect the international relations of Elizabeth's government, especially the conflict with Philip of Spain. But the Arthur-Gloriana story, complementary to this, is concerned with the return of the native British race to power. Spenser has left evidence of this distinction in the passage (III, ii, 7-8) in which Britomart says that she has come from her "native soyle, that is by name The greater Britaine," to "Faery lond," where she has heard that many famous knights and ladies dwell. That is, fairy land, for the moment, is Wales, the last stronghold of Britain. This is quite in agreement with the entire conception. Avalon, Fairy Land, Wales, is ruled by a *fée* who became the protector of Arthur, healed his wound, and preserved him until the time for his return, in the Tudor house, to worldly empire. The only addition that Spenser makes is that the great *fée*, in the person of Elizabeth, herself assumes the rule of Great Britain.

In September of 1914, Lloyd George was addressing a great throng of Welshmen. He spoke of the worth of little nations, such as those for whom England entered upon war with Germany. The greatest literature of England, he said, came from her when she was a nation the size of Belgium and, like Belgium of to-day, was fighting a great empire. In Greece, in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Germany and France are places where Britons have died for the freedom of other lands than their own. "If we had stood by when two little nations were being crushed and broken," he said, "our shame would have rung down the everlasting ages." At the close he spoke of a valley in North Wales, sheltered by mountain and sea, from which the boys were in the habit of climbing to the hill-tops to have a glimpse of the distant mountains and of the

³² "Spenser and British Imperialism," *Modern Philology*, January, 1912.

spectacle of the great valley in which were their homes. So through sacrifice and pain England has come to the hill-tops of vision;—"the great peaks of honour we had forgotten—duty and patriotism clad in glittering white. . . . We shall descend into the valleys again, but as long as the men and women of this generation last they will carry in their hearts the image of these great mountain peaks, whose foundations are unshaken though Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war." He must have been thinking of Snowdon, sacred with memories of Arthur and of Welsh heroes, and of Harlech, or Mona which preserved that "spark of fire" that was to live again in Gloriana the Faerie Queene.

In the union of Britomart and Artegal, British might and British justice, Spenser found the strength that was to free England from the menace of Spanish tyranny and the mission that was to make her the champion of those who were oppressed. In the union of Prince Arthur and Gloriana the native race regained the realm from which it had long been dispossessed, such a return as the Welsh shepherds still dream of,—“Arthur and his men dozing away in a cave until the peal of destiny ring them forth to the field of battle.”²⁸ England has many heroes,—warriors, statesmen, poets,—who would passionately desire to return from Avalon, or Mona, or some other of the Isles of the Dead to join their might with England's now that once more the peal of destiny has rung; but among them all none would respond more eagerly than he who looked through Merlin's magic glass upon the Britain of Elizabeth Tudor. For from the country of Arthur and Gloriana has come, to fulfil once more the ancient prophecy, a Welshman who wields a power far greater than theirs, but whose task is the same.

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²⁸ Rhys, p. 368.

MORALITY THEMES IN MILTON'S POETRY

BY ROBERT L. RAMSAY

In the issue of *Studies in Philology* devoted last year to essays on the English Renaissance, Professor Hanford¹ has shown in very persuasive fashion how Milton's sympathies with the Renaissance spirit deepened with advancing years, and how, contrary to the commonly received opinion, the inspiration that he derived from its moral, philosophical, and human phases became a steadily increasing factor in his work. With this judgment I find myself in complete agreement; and it is the purpose of this paper to deal with the other factor in Milton's work,—the factor that decreased as the Renaissance influence increased. This complementary influence is, I believe, the medieval. It is an influence that has been strangely little discussed in proportion to its significance for Milton's genius. Professor Saintsbury has indeed declared,² with rather too sweeping a generalization, that Milton, in comparison with Shakspeare and Dante, is strangely unmodern, with little even of the Renaissance about him except certain external tricks and fashions of form; and that the great influences which shaped his work were essentially but three in number,—Biblical, classical, and medieval. And yet it has been the Biblical, the classical, and the Renaissance factors that have hitherto almost monopolized the field of Milton criticism. There are of course certain initial improbabilities, in Milton's date and in his expressed sympathies, which account for this neglect of the medieval side of his multifariously hospitable and catholic genius. But a man may be born with a medieval mind in any age; and just as Chaucer is the most Renaissance-minded of medieval writers, so must Milton be recognized as the most medieval of all the great writers of the Renaissance.

The special medieval connection that I have in mind is with the morality play. I shall try to show that Milton's work, when examined with the old morality plots and characters in mind, reveals a close kinship, closer not only than Shakspeare's, but even than

¹ "The Dramatic Element in *Paradise Lost*," *Studies in Philology*, April, 1917.

² *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. VII.

Chaucer's, with that distinctively medieval form. A plausible recent attempt² has been made to find in Chaucer a hitherto unsuspected use of one of the chief morality categories, that of the Seven Deadly Sins. The relation which Professor Tupper has discovered seems to me indubitable. But after all it signifies comparatively little for the understanding of Chaucer's art; for there is a conspicuous absence of any inner and vital kinship between the mind of the author of the *Canterbury Tales* and what may be called the morality way of thinking. So dominant in Chaucer's day was the typical medieval passion for viewing the world under abstract categories such as the seven deadly sins that he could not have escaped them, and wherever a plausible case is made out for their underlying presence in his work he is to be presumed guilty until he is proved innocent. But so far as they are present we must recognize in them the voice of the age and not of the man. With Milton the very opposite is true. In Chaucer's case the concepts and methods of the morality were merely part of the atmosphere he breathed. For Milton they were instead part of the very furniture of his mind.

In order to justify this contention, it is desirable, first of all, to define as clearly as we can wherein lies the distinctive character of the medieval morality. The morality is, of course, the dramatic presentation of an allegory. But allegory is far too general a term to differentiate the form. The use of allegory as a dramatic method is almost equally common in all the literary periods, Middle Ages and Renaissance alike. Lyly's *Endimion*, Buckingham's *Rehearsal*, and Hauptmann's *Sunken Bell* are all three allegorical plays, yet they are in no sense moralities. The essence of the morality lies rather in the special kind of allegory that it employs. An allegory, as the term is commonly used, is the expansion of a trope or figure into an extended narrative. The result of the expansion, however, varies substantially with the precise kind of figure that constitutes its starting point. We may usefully classify allegories into expanded metaphors, expanded personifications, and expanded metonymies. The metaphor expanded gives rise to the parable; the personification expanded produces either the fable or the morality; the metonymy expanded results in the emblematic or symbolic narrative. With the last-named we are little con-

² F. Tupper, "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins," PMLA. 22. 93 (1914.)

Disciples
of
Robbie,
arise in
arms!

cerned for our present purposes, altho it has become of increasing significance for our later literature. It is, for example, the form preferred by Hawthorne. In the *Scarlet Letter*, *The House of Seven Gables*, *Rappacini's Daughter*, or *The Artist of the Beautiful*, we have human, concrete stories, literally true, into each of which there enters some concrete object,—the scarlet A, the birthmark, the poison plant, the mechanical butterfly,—which stands for the central abstract idea of the story and carries in itself the moral meaning of the whole. The connection is clearly one of association rather than resemblance, and hence the underlying trope must be considered a metonymy.

Earlier users of allegory, however, have in general preferred the methods either of the metaphor or of the personification. The two are essentially distinct figures of speech. It is a misleading custom to regard the personification as merely one variety of metaphor. They differ in the vital point of reality. The metaphor compares two objects equally actual, both of which exist independently, altho the mind for the moment confuses or imaginatively blends them; but the personification is concerned with but one object, with which, naively or deliberately, is combined an abstract attribute that does not belong to it, namely, the concept of life or human personality. Whence comes this notion of personality added by the imagination is not necessarily or commonly in the mind at all. Usually, perhaps, it is anthropomorphic, borrowed, that is, from the speaker's own consciousness, which is shared for the moment with the objects he is discussing. But there are never, in simple and unmixt forms of personification, the two distinct objects which are characteristic of metaphor. When the animals speak in a fable they are not identified imaginatively with men. They remain animals which somehow possess the alien attribute of human personality. Of course the process of abstraction is not deliberate; the concept of life or personality is not first consciously extracted and then united with the personified object; but such a process is implicit, and it is radically different from that which is revealed by analysis in a metaphor. The latter is fundamentally real and concrete, the former unreal and abstract in its essence. Now the object personified may itself be real and concrete, *e. g.*, an animal, plant, or element. In this case the result of adding the abstract notion of personality is material for a fable; and the essential fable (altho

in actual literary history other things have occasionally used the name) is an expanded concrete personification. When, on the other hand, the object personified is itself an abstraction, the result is material for a morality play, or an expanded abstract personification in dramatic form. The morality is thus in its nature doubly abstract; it is as it were the square of an abstraction.

It follows as a natural result of this essential difference between the figures that it is never possible to state a personification in a way that is literally true, as can always be done with the genuine metaphor. To illustrate from proverbs, which are so often little condensed allegories: when we say "A burnt child dreads the fire," or "Rome was not built in a day," we have uttered statements of literal truth, but at the same time express thru them a second truth. These are metaphors, which might be expanded into parables. But when we say, "Experience is the best teacher," or "Procrastination is the thief of Time," we have made statements with no literal meaning at all, statements with but one meaning, and that the figurative one. These proverbs are personifications, which might be expanded into morality plays.

In the contrast between these two types of allegory is to be found, to no inconsiderable extent, the contrast between the medieval and the Renaissance spirit, as it is reflected in the literature of the two periods. The type of allegory that dominated the Middle Ages was persistently of the unreal and abstract sort,—the fable, the symbol or emblem, and especially the personified abstraction both in dramatic and epic form. The new age brought with it a great impulse toward the concrete; and once more the parable, based on real life, on history, or on nature came to the front. A single example of the contrast may suffice here. In medieval religious drama the Bible parables are strangely neglected. The miracle cycles and the moralities, which between them use up so large a proportion of the Scripture text, omitted these little stories which to modern eyes would seem to offer almost ideal plots for the dramatist. With a few scattering exceptions, even the well-nigh perfect plot of the Prodigal Son is unutilized by medieval playwrights. When they wish to present that doctrine which, to our minds at least, receives its finest embodiment in the story of the prodigal, the doctrine of the triumph of God's mercy over his justice, they went instead to an obscure verse of the Psalms: "Mercy and Truth

have met together; Righteousness and Peace have kist each other"; and of this apparently in every way less promising material they made the enormously popular theme of the Four Daughters of God, with its extraordinary number of surviving embodiments in medieval verse and prose, romance and drama. It was not until the sixteenth century, among the dramatists of Germany and England who wrote under Protestant and humanistic influences, that the parable of the Prodigal Son was taken up and made the theme of a numerous cycle of school dramas.

The exact point of differentiation, it seems to me, lies in the contrast between these two ways of presenting what is practically the same religious truth. The Bible parable, as always, presented its lesson by taking a single step from spiritual realities to the concrete realities of daily life. But the medieval mind found it easier to take two steps in order to apprehend the same truth: first it reduced the doctrine to a formula expressed as a relation between abstract concepts; and then it tried to vitalize these abstractions by personifying them.

The two literary methods may take on a fresh significance when interpreted as the products of two opposing systems of philosophy. The Middle Ages found the morality congenial because this form of allegory, as Ten Brink has noted,⁴ was the natural expression of the so-called "Realistic" philosophy that dominated the age, the philosophy that looked upon abstract conceptions as having real existence. After the great dispute over the nature of Universals by the earlier Schoolmen, Moderate or Aristotelian Realism was triumphant by the end of the twelfth century; and throughout the thirteenth, the age of St. Thomas, its supremacy passed without dispute. There followed, at the respectful distance which literature always keeps at the heels of philosophy, the great outburst of allegory in medieval literature, with such monuments as *Renart the Fox*, the *Roman de la Rose*, and the moralities, all resting upon a basis of personification. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Ockham reopened the question of the Universal Ideas, which had been closed for a hundred years. He taught that universals do not correspond to "aught that is in the being of the things" but are merely ideas in the mind, and thus restored Nominalism, or its near relative Terminism, to the foreground of philosophic favor.

⁴ *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. II, part I, p. 298.

His followers were powerful in the schools till the end of the fifteenth century. It was this revolution in philosophy, by which reality was found once again only in the concrete and the individual, that ushered in the great change in men's ways of thinking which express itself in religion as the Reformation, in culture as the Renaissance, and in literature as the dethronement of the morality or abstract allegory by the parable or concrete tale of real life with moral or spiritual implications.

The change took place far more rapidly in the drama than it did in epic and narrative verse. The old method of using abstractions and types as characters continued and reached its highest point of development when reinforced by classic influence in the comedy of humors of Ben Jonson. It was Jonson also who transformed the masque, by his introduction of the anti-masque and his infusion of abstract moral personifications, into a sort of veneered morality play, and so paved the way for *Comus*. But side by side with the old a new technique was growing up in the drama, in which these thinly veiled types and personifications, inherited, at least in part, from the moralities, were replaced by concrete individuals. Marlowe, the creator of the "tragedy of heroic individualization," and Shakspeare were almost completely of the new age in this respect. They were literary Nominalists, to whom the universals and all merely abstract truths were but "flatus vocis," and who conveyed their moral lessons by the concrete method of the parable.

Contemporary epic poetry, however, was at least half a century behind the drama in this development of characterization. Spenser, with his very slightly disguised personifications of the virtues and vices, is almost as medieval in his conception of character as the *Roman de la Rose*. His successors Giles and Phineas Fletcher, Quarles, and Sylvester are even more closely tied to the abstract personification. The truth is that Spenser and the whole of the Cambridge school of wits were caught in a backward eddy that threatened to reverse the whole stream of philosophic development and carry it back, at least so far as allegory is concerned, to something like the position of the earlier Middle Ages. The Platonic revival, which seemed for a time all-powerful in Italy and which in England had its headquarters at Cambridge, was, on the question of the reality of abstractions, a return not only to the Moderate Realism of Aquinas but to the Ultra-Realism of Scotus or Erigena.

These poets, who were ardently attached both to the most radical doctrines of theological reform and to the vague Platonism that was then the latest wear of all European Humanists, were in reality far more medieval than they themselves realized. As Courthope puts it, "they made their starting point in the scholastic and allegorical interpretation of Nature; their theological matter, for all its Calvinistic dress, is essentially the same as had been taught in the schools of Christian divinity since the time of St. Augustine."⁵

And so it is altogether natural that the youthful Milton, trained in the Cambridge atmosphere, tracing his poetic descent thru the epic and not the dramatic line, and inheriting, when he did first enter the dramatic field, the traditions of Jonson rather than of Shakspeare, should show at the beginning a distinct preference for the medieval technique. The surprising thing is that Milton did not, like Spenser, linger there. On the contrary, each successive poem reveals him as drawing away from the old and into the new method, away from the technique of the morality and into that of the parable. Each one of Milton's poems carried a spiritual lesson, —else he had not been Milton,—but while all his work is allegorical in the broader sense, it is only his youthful poetry that is dominated by the unreal and abstract type of allegory. As he worked out a philosophy for himself, departing ever more widely from that which he had inherited, his poetry showed a steady progress toward the real or concrete form of allegory. In thus passing during his lifetime from the morality to the parable, he merely offers a somewhat tardy reflection of the changing intellectual temper of his time. His youthful poems are almost wholly of the former age in their addiction to the personified abstraction; *Comus* is still approximately halfway a morality; in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* we see Milton, like his own lion, pawing to loosen his hinder limbs from the last grip of the medieval allegorical bog; and in *Samson Agonistes* he has written a play which, while profoundly allegorical in the concrete sense, has hardly a trace of the personified abstraction and none at all of the medieval allegorical categories.

The evidence for this course of development lies in an examination of the morality themes as they actually appear in Milton's work. At the very threshold we encounter an obvious morality play in the *Vacation Exercise*, apparently quite original, altho

⁵ *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, III. 134.

much in the same tradition as the Latin and vernacular University drama of the early sixteenth century. This little morality of the Aristotelian Categories is unimportant except for the light it throws on the extent to which medieval allegory still impregnated the university atmosphere, and the readiness with which it was absorbed by the youthful Milton. The accent of the Schoolmen, struck thus distinctly in what was almost his earliest production, was destined to linger long in the voice of the poet.

Passing over such minor examples, I shall attempt here to follow the traces in Milton's work merely of the four main themes of the medieval morality: namely, those known as the Conflict of the Vices and Virtues, the Coming of Death, the Debate of the Four Daughters of God, and the Debate of the Soul and Body. It may be well to premise that in ascribing to Milton a widespread employment of concepts taken from each of these four old morality plots, I am not suggesting the direct influence on him of any particular morality, nor shall I attempt to point out the exact channel thru which such influence reached him. Professor Greenlaw,⁶ in his illuminating study of the "intimate relationship of the spirit" between Spenser and his "poetical son," has pointed out the kinship both in plot and characterization between Spenser and the moralities, and thus indicated one of these channels which may well repay a more detailed investigation. Numerous other possible intermediaries might easily be suggested. Very possibly, and even probably, Milton had never heard of a single one of the dramas which we have on our present list of medieval moralities. No direct acquaintance is required by the circumstances of the case. When we remember that one, and that not the most important of the four themes, has been traced in a recent dissertation⁷ thru over seventy distinct versions in Latin, French, and English literature alone, it is perfectly evident that Milton must have encountered each of them repeatedly from the very beginning of his life as student and reader.

It may be convenient to remind ourselves of the essential contents of each of the four plots.⁸ By far the most important is the

* "A Better Teacher than Aquinas," *Studies in Philology*, April, 1917.

⁷ Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God*, 1907.

⁸ Summarized from my intro. to *Magnificence*, p. cxlvii fol. (E. E. T. S., ex. ser. 98).

one known as the Conflict of Vices and Virtues. During its long development from the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius on down, it passed thru two chief stages, to the first of which alone the name conflict is strictly applicable. This earlier form depicted an actual physical combat between the contending camps of good and evil, conducted in Homeric fashion. Later the theme was transformed by the insertion of a central and neutral character, Mankind; and it became no longer a conflict of force but a struggle of wits, a competition of rival tempters. In this later form there were always at least two struggles: first the Vices succeeded in winning Mankind over to their side; then the Virtues won him back. Lookt at from Mankind's point of view, the scheme of events fell into four stages; first, Innocence; second, Temptation, or Triumph of Evil; third, Life-in-Sin; fourth, Repentance, or Triumph of Good. In the actual plays, of course this typical scheme is altered in various ways. 'The *dramatis personae* of the story, in its fully developed form, consisted first of all of the hero, Man, Mankind, or Humanum Genus, who does not act but is rather acted upon by the two camps between which he is placed. These are more or less evenly balanced: the Good Angel over against the Evil Angel, the divine Trinity against the infernal trinity of World, Flesh, and Devil, the seven cardinal virtues against the seven deadly sins, and various graces, such as Repentance, Conscience, Mercy, and the like, against miscellaneous assistant devils and subordinate evil types. From this potential storehouse of characters the actual plays make all sorts of selections.

The second plot, the allegory of Death, shows us Mankind again as a neutral figure, this time between this world and the next. As representatives of this world appear his earthly possessions and associates, Wealth, Strength, Wits, Friends, Kinsmen, Wife, and the like. The next world is represented mainly by the formidable figure of Mors, or Death, a personification which overshadows the scene and easily monopolizes the interest. Death is represented partly as a messenger of God and partly as an ally of the fiends. The plot affords material merely for a single powerful scene, altho the effect of the denouement may be heightened by prefixing a scene either of boastful security or of pious preparation, according to the character of the hero and victim.

The third plot, that of the Four Daughters of God, presents the

controversy of Justice and Truth with Mercy and Peace suggested by the psalm verse. In the version of St. Bernard, which seems most nearly the one that Milton had in mind, the allegory is connected both with the Fall and the Nativity, and the action moves between Earth and Heaven. Our first parents were attended in their state of innocence by four divine guardians, who were the daughters of God himself: Mercy to protect them, Truth to teach them, Justice to rule them, Peace to foster them. After the Fall, however, the four daughters were compelled to forsake sinful Mankind and repair to the throne of God in Heaven, where a grievous contention arose between them over the punishment that was due. When the Father affirms the necessity of a guiltless substitute for the sinner, Truth returns to search the Earth and Mercy searches Heaven for such a one, both in vain. Then the Son offers himself as Atonement and is accepted; the daughters kiss and are reconciled; and Christ descends to Earth, preceded by Gabriel to make the Annunciation to the Virgin, and accompanied by the four daughters. Peace, says Bernard, is present on Earth when He arrives; Mercy and Truth go before His face; and Justice prepares His throne.

The last of the four allegorical themes is the Debate of the Soul and Body, which, tho not certainly represented in any of our extant English morality plays, was a popular and widespread *motif* in medieval religious literature, especially in the *débat* and the sermon. In essence it consists of the depiction of the Body and Soul as separated after death and separately personified. The conception was a congenial one to the dualism that marked all forms of medieval philosophy.

Traces of these four morality themes appear in Milton's work in two ways. They contribute either incidents or characters. Just as he uses ancient mythology either for its stories or for its names, so he sometimes borrows a part or the whole of one of the morality plots, sometimes merely mentions one or more of the personages involved in them. They constituted, in fact, a medieval and Christian annex to his mythological storehouse; and he treated them in precisely the same fashion. He combined them freely with each other and with Greek and Roman legend; and he developed and enlarged them as he saw fit, exercising at times the same royal and creative myth-making faculty that so conspicuously distinguishes his handling of classical mythology.

In the shorter poems of Milton's youth, it is the third plot, that of the Four Daughters of God, which the reader catches sight of most frequently. It occurs first in the very earliest of Milton's original poems, *On the Death of a Fair Infant* (1625), in the eighth stanza:

Or wert thou that just maid who once before
 Forsook the hated earth, oh! tell me sooth,
 And camest again to visit us once more?
 Or wert thou [Mercy,] that sweet smiling Youth?
 Or that crown'd Matron, sage white-robed Truth?
 Or any other of that heavenly brood
 Let down in cloudy throne to do the world some good?

All four of the daughters appear in the *Ode on the Nativity* (1629), Peace by herself in stanza 3:

But he, her fears to cease,
 Sent down the meek-eyed Peace;
 She, crown'd with olive green, came softly sliding
 Down thru the turning sphere,
 His ready harbinger,
 With turtle wing the amorous clouds dividing;
 And, waving wide her myrtle wand,
 She strikes a universal peace thru sea and land.

and the other three in stanza 15:

Yea, Truth and Justice then
 Will down return to men,
 Orb'd in a rainbow; and, like glories wearing,
 Mercy will sit between,
 Throned in celestial sheen
 With radiant feet the tissued clouds down steering;
 And Heaven, as at some festival,
 Will open wide the gates of her high palace-hall.

Verity in his edition has ascribed the stanza on Peace to a reminiscence from contemporary masques of the descent of some *dea ex machina*; but he is unable to cite an actual parallel. Evidently it is connected, as Professor Cook was the first to note,⁹ with some form of our allegory. St. Bernard's version, by which the other three daughters are rather Christ's precursors, while only Peace is

⁹ "Notes on Milton's Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, 15. 346 (1909).

said actually to have been with him on earth, is very close to the Nativity Ode:

"Porro venturum regem Misericordia et Veritas praevenierunt, sicut scriptum est: Misericordia et Veritas praecedent faciem tuam. Justitia thronum praeparat secundum illud: Justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae. Pax cum rege venit, ut propheta fidelis inveniretur qui dixerat: Pax erit in terra nostra cum venerit. Inde est quod nato domino angelorum chorus canebat: Pax in terra hominibus bonae voluntatis."¹⁰

Miss Traver has noted that Bernard was led to associate the psalm verse for the first time with the incarnation of Christ by the fact that this psalm belongs in the Christmas service; here is an additional bond of connection with Milton's Christmas Ode.

Again in 1633 we encounter three of the daughters in the poem *On Time*:

When everything that is sincerely good,
And perfectly divine,
With Truth, and Peace, and Love, shall ever shine
About the supreme throne.

In the same year Milton included in the fragment *Upon the Circumcision* a version of the allegory that is nearly complete:

O more exceeding Love, or Law more just?
Just Law, indeed, but more exceeding Love!
For we, by rightful doom remediless,
Were lost in death, till he, that dwelt above
High-throned in secret bliss, for us frail dust
Emptied his glory, even to nakedness;
And that great covenant which we still transgress
Entirely satisfied,
And the full wrath beside
Of vengeful Justice bore for our excess.

In the last two passages Mercy is replaced by Love, a substitution which is fairly common in medieval versions of the allegory.¹¹

With these references may be included two others of a later period. In 1648 Milton translated Psalm 85, which contains the parent verses from which sprang the whole allegory. His rendering is as follows, words supplied being italicized:

¹⁰ St. Bernard, "In Festo Annunciationis Beatae Virginis," Migne, *Petr. Lat.* CLXXXIII. 383.

¹¹ Traver, pp. 67, 79, 120, 121, 162.

- 10 Mercy and Truth, *that long were miss'd,*
 Now joyfully are met;
Sweet Peace and Righteousness have kiss'd,
 And hand in hand are set.
- 11 Truth from the earth *like to a flower*
 Shall bud and blossom then;
 And Justice from her heavenly bower
 Look down on mortal men.

In the sonnet *To Cromwell* (1652) two of the daughters are mentioned:

Cromwell, our chief of men, who thru a cloud
 Not of war only, but detractions rude,
 Guided by Faith and matchless Fortitude,
 To Peace and Truth thy glorious way hast plowed.

Bishop Newton's note to these lines informs us that the phrase "To Peace and Truth" was peculiarly familiar to the people of the time since certain of the silver coins of the Commonwealth bore the inscription around the edge. It would probably be nearer the mark to say that the inscription was chosen because the phrase was familiar; and its familiarity is another proof of the popularity of our allegory ✓

In this group of passages we have one of the best examples of the fusion of classic mythology and medieval allegory already mentioned as characteristically Miltonic. Beside the manifest relation to the old morality plot, there is also partial dependence upon the myth of the Golden Age, as Milton was familiar with it in the poetry of Hesiod, Aratus, Ovid, and Virgil. The "just maid who once before forsook the hated earth" of course goes back to the "Jam redit et Virgo" of the Fourth Eclogue and Ovid's account in the first book of the *Metamorphoses* of the depravity of the Age of Iron, ending in the lines

Victa jacet pietas, et Virgo caede madentes
 Ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit.

The identity of Astrea and Justice is established in the description by Aratus of the constellation Virgo. But the main source for Milton, as for all later poets, was doubtless Hesiod, whose fondness for abstractions made him especially congenial. Hesiod, it is true, does not mention that Justice abandoned the earth after the Golden Age, assigning that rôle rather to Aidos and Nemesis: "And then

Aidos and Nemesis, with their sweet forms wrapt in white robes, will go from the wide-pathed earth and forsake mankind to join the company of the deathless gods" (*Works and Days*, ll. 197-200). Elsewhere, however, in the same poem he speaks of "virgin Justice, the daughter of Zeus, who is honored and revered among the gods who dwell on Olympus, and whenever anyone hurts her with lying slander, she sits beside her father, Zeus the son of Cronos, and tells him of men's wicked heart" (ll. 256-260). With Justice is associated, as dwelling in the land of those who respect her, "Peace, the nurse of children" (l. 228); and in the *Theogony* Zeus's daughters by Themis are enumerated as "Order, and Justice, and blooming Peace" (l. 902). Truth is not mentioned by Hesiod, but may perhaps have been suggested by Ovid's phrase "fugere pudor verumque fidesque" (l. 129). There is no classical source for the characteristically Christian Mercy.

A close examination will show that both the classic and the medieval source are needed to account for Milton's lines. The earliest passage, that from *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, might be entirely classical, except for the (conjectural) mention of Mercy. The mention in the last two lines of the stanza of "that heavenly brood let down in cloudy throne," which no editor has explained, can hardly refer to the morality characters; perhaps it is an allusion to Hesiod's statement that "upon the bounteous earth Zeus has thrice ten thousand spirits, watchers of mortal men, and these keep watch on judgments and deeds of wrong as they roam, clothed in mist, all over the earth" (*Works and Days*, ll. 252-255), a passage which is recalled in the "thousand liveried angels" of *Comus* who will protect chastity and "drive far off each thing of sin and guilt," and again in *Paradise Lost*:

Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth

Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep. (iv. 677.)

The passage in the *Ode on the Nativity*, naturally, owes less to pagan sources; and yet it is to be noted that Milton ascribes the final return of Truth, Justice, and Mercy, not to the birth of Christ, but as Virgil does to a future when "Time will run back and fetch the Age of Gold." Even in his translation of the psalm itself, Milton interpolates after the names of the virtues the phrase "that long were missed," thus inserting the classical idea of a return that is absent from the Scripture original.

The blending process here exemplified may very possibly have begun long before Milton; otherwise it is hard to account for the striking similarities between the classic myth and the allegory that have grown up even as early as St. Bernard. A later version mentioned by Miss Traver goes so far as to substitute for Justice the classical name of Astrea.¹² But the process was especially congenial to Milton, as *Lycidas* and many other composites of Christian and pagan allusion bear witness.

In this connection it may be observed that there are serious objections to the emendation by which "Mercy" has been inserted in the defective line (53) of *On the Death of a Fair Infant*:

Or wert thou [Mercy,] that sweet smiling youth?

a change first proposed in Newton's edition of 1751. Newton omits the name of the author of this conjecture, but Warton, who adopted it in his edition of the *Minor Poems* in 1785, as all subsequent editors have done, says that it was first suggested, "in a periodical Miscellany which appeared about the year 1750," by "the late Mr. John Heskin, of Christ-Church, Oxford, who publisht an elegant edition of Bion and Moschus." As emended, the line involves the absurdity of making Mercy masculine, or else supposing that the poet uses "youth" here to mean a young woman. Masson accepts the former alternative, explaining that we have in "the three personages of the stanza Justice (the maiden), Mercy (the young man), and Truth (the matron)." But, not to mention the fact that the conception of Mercy as masculine is unexampled in literature, Milton is here addressing his niece, and could hardly ask her if she had been a young man. On the other hand, the word "youth" is never feminine elsewhere in Milton, in Spenser, or in Shakspeare; nor have I been able to find any instance of such a use of the word in its concrete application, at least in the singular. Heskin's reason for supposing that Mercy is the missing word is the use together of Truth, Justice, and Mercy again in stanza 15 of the *Ode on the Nativity*. But Milton is not wont to repeat himself so exactly; and I should like to suggest instead that the line originally read:

Or wert thou that sweet [Peace, in] smiling youth?

The substitution of Peace for Mercy would enable us to explain the

¹² Traver, p. 117.

entire stanza from classical mythology alone, as is every other allusion in the poem. Furthermore, the epithet "sweet" is used of Peace in Milton's translation of the psalm, and was the favorite epithet for that divinity of Milton's master Spenser.

The allegory of the Four Daughters becomes even more prominent in the prose works of Milton's middle period than it was in the poetry of his youth. The references which a hurried reading has collected are surprisingly numerous. Indeed, so fixt does the theme seem to have become in Milton's mind that he can hardly refrain, whenever he has occasion to mention one of the four virtues, from bringing in one or more of her sisters or alluding to some incident of their story, with or without special appropriateness. A few of these allusions may be cited.¹³ In his *Of Reformation in England* (1641) Milton says:

"It is not the common law, nor the civil, but Piety and Justice that are our foundresses; they stoop not, neither change color for aristocracy, democracy, or monarchy, nor yet at all interrupt their just courses; but far above the taking notice of these inferior niceties, with perfect sympathy, wherever they meet, kiss each other." (II. 412.)

Of Prelatical Episcopacy (1641):

"We do injuriously in . . . searching among the verminous and polluted rags dropped overworn from the toiling shoulders of Time, with these deformedly to quilt and interlace the entire, the spotless, and undecaying robe of Truth, the daughter not of Time, but of Heaven, only bred up here below in Christian hearts, between two grave and holy nurses, the Doctrine and Discipline of the gospel." (II. 428.)

The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty (1642):

"For the which and all their former misdeeds, whereof this book and many volumes more cannot contain the moiety, I shall move ye, lords, in the behalf I dare say of many thousand good Christians, to let your Justice and speedy sentence pass against this great malefactor, Prelaty. And yet in the midst of rigor I would beseech ye to think of Mercy." (II. 507.)

The best instance of this inevitable mental association in Milton's mind occurs in the last chapter of *Eikonoklastes* (1649). Here he wishes to press home the claims of justice in the matter of Charles's execution; but Justice at once suggests Truth to him, and he must needs begin by a discussion whether Truth or Justice is the

¹³ The Prose Works of Milton are cited from the edition of J. A. St. John.

stronger. In an eloquent but surely an irrelevant passage, which is too long to quote, the personification of the two virtues is developed at length.

In three of his treatises, however, the allegory is used in a fit and relevant way, and become an appropriate part of the structure. In *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), where Milton is again discussing the justice of executing Charles, the argument naturally enough reminds him of the debate of the daughters, and he pleads the cause of Justice against Mercy, who was championed by the Presbyterians. Inevitably he thinks of the case in terms of the old medieval morality. And just as here he was arguing against the danger of letting Justice be overborne by mistaken Mercy toward King Charles, so in his divorce pamphlets he was pleading earnestly in behalf of Mercy and Charity to alleviate the harsh exactions of Justice in the customary construction of the marriage bond. Once more the two personifications are constantly on his lips (*The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, 1643):

"Let no man doubt therefore to affirm, that it is not so hurtful or dishonorable to a commonwealth . . . when worse faults . . . are committed by whoso dares under strict and executed penalty, as when less faults, tolerated for fear of greater, harden their faces, not their hearts only, under the protection of public authority. For what less indignity were this, than as if Justice herself, the Queen of Virtues, descending from her sceptered royalty, instead of conquering, should compound and treat with Sin, her eternal adversary and rebel, upon ignoble terms?" (III. 246.)

And again in the pathetic close of Milton's appeal:

"Last of all, to those whose mind is still to maintain textual restrictions, whereof the bare sound cannot consist sometimes with humanity, much less with Charity, I would ever answer, by putting them in remembrance of a command above all commands, which they seem to have forgot, and who spake it . . . 'I will have Mercy and not sacrifice'; for on that saying all the law and prophets depend; much more the gospel, whose end and excellence is Mercy and Peace. Or if they cannot learn that, how will they hear this? which yet I shall not doubt to leave with them as a conclusion, that God the Son hath put all other things under his own feet, but his commandments he hath left all under the feet of Charity." (III. 273.)

By far the finest use of the myth which Milton makes, either in his prose or his poetry, is in the *Areopagitica* (1644). Here, of course, Truth is the most prominent of the four daughters, and her personification rules the essay. The entire *Areopagitica*, indeed,

is shot thru with the myth of Truth; but the allegory comes to clearest expression in this paragraph:

"Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on: but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, lords and commons, nor ever shall do, till her Master's second coming; he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyred saint." (II. 89.)

This noble passage completes the myth of the daughters, and affords an exquisite example of Milton's myth-making power at work on a medieval theme, blending with it the classical reminiscence of Osiris as he had previously done that of Astrea. Taking all his references together, we discover that he has enriched and expanded the story almost beyond recognition, till it extends in outline from before the creation of the world to the last judgment, on a scale comparable only to that of the medieval miracle cycles. Milton's imagination has, in fact, working as it were at odd moments, constructed the framework for another epic.

In view of the place which the allegory of the daughters held in the mind of Milton, it is of much interest to note how it unmistakably influenced Shakspeare also. Miss Traver has pointed out how remarkably similar the trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice* is to certain French forms of the allegory, Portia taking the place of Mercy and Shylock of Justice.¹⁴ I mention this here because of another parallel with the same play which I shall draw later on.

The Debate was not the only morality theme much in Milton's mind during the period of the minor poems. The allegory of the Coming of Death is likewise frequently made use of. Indeed, the personified figure of Death seems to have haunted the imagination

¹⁴ Traver, p. 94.

of the youthful Milton, as it has in our own day the youthful Maeterlinck. Death appears, quite in the manner of the moralities, in no less than seven of his extremely numerous elegies. Five of these are products of his university career, the four earliest being in Latin.

On the University Beadle (Elegia Secunda), 1626:

Te, qui conspicuus baculo fulgente solebas
 Palladium toties ore ciere gregem,
 Ultima praeconum praeconem te quoque saeva
 Mors rapit, officio nec favet ipsa suo.

(ll. 1-4.)

On the Bishop of Winchester (Elegia Tertia), 1626:

Dum procerum ingressa est splendentes marmore turres
 Dira sepulchrali Mors metuenda face,
 Pulsavitque auro gravidos et jaspide muros,
 Nec metuit satrapum sternere falce greges.

(ll. 5-8.)

On the Vice-Chancellor (Sylvarum Liber, no. 1), 1626:

Vos (i. e. Iapeti nepotes) si relicto Mors vaga Taenaro
 Semel vocarit flebilis, heu! morae
 Tentantur incassum dolique;
 Per tenebras Stygis ire certum est.

(ll. 5-8.)

On the Bishop of Ely (Sylvarum Liber, no. 3), 1626:

Non est, ut arbitraris elusus miser,
 Mors atra Noctis filia,
 Erebove patre creta, sive Erinnye,
 Vastove nata sub Chao:
 Ast illa, caelo missa stellato, Dei
 Messes ubique colligit;
 Animasque mole carnea reconditas
 In lucem et auras evocat, . . .
 Et sempiterni ducit ad vultus Patris.
 At justa raptat impios
 Sub regna furvi luctuosa Tartari
 Sedesque subterraneas.

(ll. 31-44.)

On Hobson the Carrier, 1631:

Here lies old Hobson. Death has broke his girt,
 And here, alas! hath laid him in the dirt (et passim)

The personification is absent, however, and the absence is significant, from the two latest and best of the elegies of the earlier period, *Lycidas* and the *Epitaphium Damonis*. If we read the latter poem in Cowper's translation, it is true, we find an example of just such personification:

We scarce in thousands meet one kindred mind;
And if the long-sought good at last we find,
When least we fear it, Death our treasure steals,
And gives our heart a wound that nothing heals.

(ll. 108-111.)

But an examination of the original shows that Cowper, in characteristic eighteenth century fashion, has imported the "capital letter personification":

Vix sibi quisque parem de milibus invenit unum;
Aut, si sors dederit tandem non aspera votis,
Illum inopina dies, qua non speraveris hora,
Surripit, aeternum linquens in saecula damnum.

The most detailed use that Milton makes of the medieval allegory occurs in Sonnet XIV, *To Mrs. Catherine Thomson* (1646). This reads almost like a condensed version of the old morality *Everyman*. "Flesh" in line 4 (in the first draft, which is here followed) corresponds to the morality figures Beauty and Wits; we have Good Deeds in line 5, in "Works and Alms"; and the graces Faith and Love replace Knowledge and Confession.

When Faith and Love, which parted from thee never,
Had ripen'd thy just Soul to dwell with God,
Meekly thou didst resign this earthy clod
Of Flesh and sin, which man from heaven doth sever.
Thy Works, and Alms, and all thy good endeavour,
Stay'd not behind, nor in the grave were trod;
But, as Faith pointed with her golden rod,
Follow'd thee up to joy and bliss for ever.

Love led them on; and Faith, who knew them best
Thy handmaids, clad them o'er with purple beams
And azure wings, that up they flew so drest,
And spake the truth of thee in glorious themes
Before the Judge; who henceforth bid thee rest,
And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams.

Finally, in the latest of the sonnets, no. XXIII, *On His Deceased*

Wife (1658), we have another example of the fusion of the medieval theme with classic mythology, in the allusion to *Alcestis*. Milton here makes beautiful use of the one ancient drama which comes nearest, in form and feeling, to the medieval morality.

The examination of these earlier treatments by Milton of the theme of death is not without its value for the study of *Paradise Lost*, and may serve to guard against doubtful conclusions based upon the epic alone. Professor Erskine, in an otherwise illuminating article on "The Theme of Death in *Paradise Lost*,"¹⁵ has pointed out that death in *Paradise Lost* is regarded as both a curse and a blessing, both as the gift of Satan and the gift of God; and he regards the latter opinion as a development of the poet's old age. "The theologian in him was persuaded that death was a curse, the result of sin; but the poet in him uttered his true opinion, after a long and exhausting life, that death is a heaven-sent release." A comparison of Milton's earlier expressions of opinion, especially the passage cited above from the elegy on the Bishop of Ely, written in his seventeenth year, shows that Milton did not need "a long and exhausting life" to teach him that death is often a kindly messenger sent from God. Here he opposes the two opinions, of the infernal or the heavenly sending of death, and decides definitely for the latter. He might have learned both views from the medieval morality plays, where Death has just the same ambiguous relation to the two realms of Heaven and Hell. Death is a friend of the fiends in so far as he hands over to them their eagerly expected prey, as he does in the Coventry play of the Death of Herod. On the other hand, he is sent by God and is simply one of his agents, "Goddys masangere," as he is explicitly called in *Everyman*.¹⁶

Closely connected with the allegory of Death is that of the Soul and Body. This is by all odds the rarest of the four to appear in Milton's works, and the one that disappeared soonest; but it is especially significant, just by reason of its early disappearance, of the change that took place in his philosophy. To the Platonists of Cambridge, with whom Milton came in such close contact in his youth, the definition of the soul as a real being, an incorporeal and eternal substance, was essential, and hence the conception of a com-

¹⁵ PMLA. 32. 573 (Dec. 1917).

¹⁶ Cf. *Magnificence*, intro. clxxvi.

plete separation of soul and body after death was familiar and inevitable. The same had been the position of the early or Ultra Realists of the Middle Ages. The Aristotelian or Moderate Realists of the type of Aquinas also accepted the doctrine of a separation, but with certain definite restrictions. They adopted the position that only the "rational soul," that is, the distinctively spiritual faculties of Understanding and Will, to which was added by one party the Memory (called the Mind in the English morality play *Wisdom*), continued in conscious existence after death. Thus both Platonist and Aristotelian, both Ultra and Moderate Realist could use with good conscience the allegory of Soul and Body; and the evidence of his youthful phraseology would seem to show that Milton too accepted without difficulty the conventional conception. In the passage already cited from the elegy *On the Bishop of Ely* Milton tells how Death "animas mole carnea reconditas in lucem et auras evocat"; and a few lines further on he puts into the mouth of the dead man an account of how gladly he heard the summons of the harvester of God, and how he left the foul prison of his earthly body and felt himself carried up thru starry worlds to the Heaven where he still abides. Quite in the same spirit are the lines in *Il Penseroso*:

"or unsphere
The spirit of Plato to unfold
What worlds or what vast regions hold
The immortal mind that hath forsook
Her mansion in this fleshly nook."

(ll. 88-92.)

In *Comus* Milton's ideas about the relation of soul and body have become much less conventional, tho they are still not entirely un-Platonic:

Till oft converse with heavenly habitants
Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,
The unpolluted temple of the mind,
And turns it by degree to the soul's essence,
Till all be made immortal. But, when lust,
By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,
Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being.

Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
 Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres,
 Linger and sitting by a new-made grave,
 As loath to leave the body that it loved,
 And link'd itself by carnal sensuality
 To a degenerate and degraded state.

(ll. 459-475.)

Here the soul is still represented as originally independent of the body, but it is declared that she may lose this independence thru sin and "imbody," thus becoming herself to a greater or less extent material. The fundamental idea in the passage, altho evidently suggested by the famous description in the *Phaedo* of the destruction of the soul's purity thru sense-knowledge, is, as Harrison notes,¹⁷ different from Plato's in an essential particular. Plato ascribes the degradation and materializing of the soul to the contamination of sense-knowledge of any kind, whereas Milton makes it due to sensuality in the restricted moral sense, that is, to Sin. Milton is, in fact, here for the first time breaking away from Platonism; and the breach was characteristically due to his sense of the moral insufficiency of Plato's system, a defect which, as Harrison points out,¹⁸ was felt also by Spenser, but to a much smaller degree.

The rift thus formed could not but widen. The position that Milton had for the moment assumed smacks too much of a belief in the inherent evil of matter, and it was impossible for a man with Milton's healthy physical outlook on the world to remain long contented with an approximation to the tenets of Manicheanism. Accordingly it is not surprizing that in *Paradise Lost* we find that he has abandoned the idea of any separation of soul and body whatever. Even the angels, as Raphael explains elaborately in the familiar passage in Book V, are not pure and abstracted spirits, but have material bodies of a special sort. The denial of any separation comes to clearest expression in Adam's soliloquy in Book X:

Yet one doubt
 Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die;
 Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of Man
 Which God inspired, cannot together perish
 With this corporeal clod; then, in the grave,

¹⁷ J. S. Harrison, *Platonism in English Poetry*, p. 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 189.

Or in some other dismal place, who knows
 But I shall die a living death? O thought
 Horrid, if true! Yet why? It was but breath
 Of life that sinned: what dies but what had life
 And sin? the body properly hath neither.
 All of me then shall die: let this appease
 The doubt, since human reach no further knows.

(x. 782-793.)

In the *Christian Doctrine* we have a reasoned defense of this quite unorthodox belief. Milton argues against the customary definition of death as the separation of soul and body, and maintains that the soul dies with the body; altho of course he also believes, on the basis of revelation, that there is a future resurrection of soul and body together. Naturally with this conviction dominating his mind, the allegory of Soul and Body vanishes from his work, and there are no further instances of separate personification of the two principles.¹⁹

If we are justified in thus tracing Milton's progress from the Platonic point of view thru the Aristotelian, and considerably beyond, it becomes of interest to discover just when he finally abandoned belief in the independent existence of the soul. The precise time is likely to remain uncertain, but he would seem to have been still wavering in 1646 when he wrote the sonnet *To Mrs. Catharine Thomson* quoted above. In the first draft as it appears in the Trinity manuscript he speaks of his friend as resigning "this earthy clod of flesh"; but apparently with some misgiving he changed in the second draft to the more non-committal lines:

Meekly thou didst resign this earthy load
 Of death, called life, which us from life doth sever.

Whenever the transformation of his philosophy was consummated, the shift was an all-important one for his relation to the morality themes; for with the fading of Milton's sense of the independent reality of the soul there necessarily faded too his sense of the reality

¹⁹ Raleigh (*Milton*, p. 164) has expressed the opinion that Milton might have found great opportunities for his epical vein in the old medieval theme of the Harrowing of Hell and the release of the captive souls. But aside from the theological objections he would have felt to the Romish legend, such a theme would have been philosophically meaningless to the author of *Paradise Lost* and the *Christian Doctrine*.

of any other spiritual abstraction, and all abstract personifications lost their vitality in his imagination.

The most important of the four morality plots, the Conflict of Vices and Virtues, is comparatively little in evidence in Milton's earliest poems. The Nativity Ode contains a few personifications from its circle of characters, such as Vanity, Sin, and Nature. But not until *Comus* (1634) is its presence unmistakable. In *Comus* we have, as has often been remarked, a compound of mingled elements, altho subdued into unity by a master's hand. Compared with other masques it seems like a regular drama; compared with regular dramas it appears evidently an allegorical masque. In truth it is both. The plot is roughly that of the old morality; but how far transformed! In place of the personified Mankind is the Lady; the Good Angel is quite recognizable in the Attendant Spirit; the two brothers are the Virtues; Comus and his crew are the Vices; and Sabrina is the Grace who regularly entered at the last stage to deliver Mankind from the entanglement of sin. In *Comus* Milton has, it is true, omitted the inner moral conflict that was a part of the essence of the old morality; the Lady resists temptation, invincible in the might of "that unblemished form of Chastity," instead of succumbing as Mankind invariably did to the assaults of the Vices. This dominant idea of the self-sufficiency of the virtuous soul²⁰ is the clearest mark that Milton's already declining Platonism has left upon the play; and with all its marvelous beauty of expression it must be judged, in the last analysis, an element of weakness from the dramatic point of view, for it makes the struggle at bottom unreal. In *Paradise Lost* Milton's confidence in the utter powerlessness of evil even temporarily to effect its purposes had vanished with his youth, and the loss brought an undeniable gain, in maturity and in greatness, to the later work. From several points of view, indeed, it might have been more fitting had *Comus* been the epic and *Paradise Lost* the drama. But with this important restriction, all the stages of the typical morality plot are easily discernible: the opening scene of Innocence and Security, the great Temptation scene, the Life-in-Sin replaced here by the merely external magic spell that falls upon the Lady, and lastly the Deliverance thru Sabrina's aid. It is

²⁰ Harrison, p. 64.

noteworthy that there is only one strictly personal name in the play, that of Sabrina; even Comus is a Greek abstract noun personified. It might have been translated in English as Revelry, or Luxury, or Sensuality, with a capital letter, or Caro the Flesh, to use the customary medieval term; and must have been so felt by Milton, in spite of its previous use as the name of a God.

And yet, altho the characters of *Comus* cannot hide their descent from the personified abstraction, either in name or nature, they have at least advanced farther on the road to personality than any other members of their class. The adoption of a simple human story for the beginning of the play, so life-like that the tradition could arise of an actual losing of the way in the woods, and the substitution of the human relationship of brothers and sister for the traditional connection of the Virtues with Mankind, mark the entrance of some elements at least of the concrete in place of the abstract allegory. *Comus* is thus half a morality, half a parable.

Paradise Lost and *Paradise Regained*, on the other side of the great chasm that divided Milton's life, are also on the other side of the dividing line that I have endeavored to draw in this essay. They are accounts of what in Milton's mind were thoroly actual events and real persons; and so far as they are symbolic at all, it is predominantly with the concrete sort of symbolism. But there are certain features in the two epics which might suggest to the careful reader that this freedom from the abstract personification is due to a process of elimination, not quite completed, even if we had not, in the four preliminary drafts, a manifest disclosure of how the elimination went on. These early drafts demonstrate that what Milton began in 1640 was not an epic, nor even, except in external form, a classical tragedy, but a morality play; and a play containing not only one of the old morality plots that I have outlined, but three of them in combination.

To show more clearly the structure of the projected drama, I have arranged the contents of Milton's third draft, where for the first time there is a division into acts, side by side with the corresponding themes from the moralities. As will appear, in Act 1 we find the Debate of the Four Daughters; Acts 2, 3, and 4 present the Conflict of the Vices and Virtues; and Act 5 gives us the Coming of Death.

Moses προλογίζει

Act 1. Justice, Mercy, debating what should become of man if he fall. Wisdom (hymne of the creation). Chorus of Angels sing.

Act 2. Heavenly Love. Evening Starre. Chorus sing the marriage song and describe Paradise.

Act 3. Lucifer contriving Adam's ruine. Chorus feares for Adam and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

Act 4. Adam, Eve, fallen. Conscience cites them to God's examination. Chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost.

Act 5. Adam and Eve, driven out of Paradise. Presented by an angel with Labor, Grief, Hatred, Envie, Warre, Famine, Pestilence, Winter, Heat, Tempest, etc., Sicknes, Discontent, Ignorance, Feare, Death,—mutes to whom he gives their names. Faith, Hope, Charity, comfort him and instruct him. Chorus briefly concludes.

DEBATE OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD.**CONFLICT OF THE VICES AND VIRTUES.**

1. Stage of Innocence.

2. Stage of Temptation.

3. Stage of Life-in-Sin.

THE COMING OF DEATH.
(with a suggestion of the last stage, Repentance, of the Conflict plot.)

The first of mediæval morality plays, *The Castle of Perseverance*, is strikingly similar in its structure to this scheme of Milton's. It also combines the three plots, tho in a different order, putting the Four Daughters at the end instead of at the beginning. Briefly summarized, its contents are as follows:

CONFLICT OF THE VICES AND VIRTUES. 1. Stage of Innocence. The hero Humanum Genus, just born, appears between his good and bad angel. 2. Stage of Temptation. Humanum Genus succumbs to the persuasions of his Bad Angel and goes off to dwell with Mundus. 3. Stage of Life-in-Sin. Humanum Genus is introduced successively to all the seven Deadly Sins. 4. Stage of Repentance. Humanum Genus is convicted of sin and taken into the Castle to dwell with the seven Virtues. 5. Second Temptation. After an unsuccessful assault on the Castle, the Vices ensnare Humanum Genus once more by sending Covetousness round to the back door. 6. Second Life-in-Sin. Humanum Genus, now an old man, dwells with Covetousness.

THE COMING OF DEATH. Mors leaps over the protecting ditch and pierces Humanum Genus to the heart with his spear.

DEBATE OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS. The soul of Humanum Genus appears for judgment before the throne of God, and, after the conflicting claims of the Daughters have been reconciled, gains salvation.

Skelton's *Magnificence* affords a parallel to the evils that accompany Death in Milton's scheme in its not un-Miltonic figures of Adversity and Poverty. Other parallels might be drawn from later moralities as well as from many of the works that have been declared "sources" of *Paradise Lost*, such as the *Adamo* of Andreini. They are all to be considered, if I may be allowed to repeat myself, merely as analogs,—evidences that these morality ideas had become commonplaces of the time. The exact identification of the particular channels thru which they reached Milton is probably impossible and perhaps unimportant.

The quarter of a century that elapsed between the jotting down of these tentative drafts and the completed epic brought many modifications in Milton's scheme. In the poem as we have it we can easily see how the morality personifications, so prominent in his initial plan, have faded and retreated into the background. But there is evidence that they never vanished altogether. We have already noted how incessantly the reminiscences of the Four Daughters recur in his prose works. It would be possible to show how the theme of the Conflict with the Vices also persisted in the background of his thoughts, and how it finds expression in some of his finest and most eloquent moods. In the *Second Defense of the People of England* (1654), written when the epic must already have begun to take definite shape in his imagination, we find such a passage in his eulogy of Cromwell (as translated by Fellowes):

"In a short time he almost surpassed the greatest generals in the magnitude and the rapidity of his achievements. Nor is this surprising; for he was a soldier disciplined to perfection in the knowledge of himself. He had either extinguished, or by habit had learned to subdue, the whole host of vain hopes, fears, and passions, which infest the soul. He first acquired the government of himself, and over himself acquired the most signal victories; so that on the first day he took the field against the external enemy, he was a veteran in arms, consummately practised in the toils and exigencies of war." (I. 285.)

A still loftier use of the theme is to be found in the peroration of the same work:

"For it is of no little consequence, O citizens, by what principles you are governed, either in acquiring liberty, or in retaining it when acquired. . . . Unless you will subjugate the propensity to avarice, to ambition, and sensuality, and expel all luxury from yourselves and from your families, you will find that you have cherished a more stubborn and intractable despot at home, than you ever encountered in the field; and even your very bowels will be continually teeming with an intolerable progeny of tyrants. Let these be the first enemies whom you subdue; this constitutes the campaign of peace; these are triumphs, difficult indeed, but bloodless; and far more honorable than those trophies which are purchased only by slaughter and by rapine. Unless you are victors in this service, it is in vain that you have been victorious over the despotic enemy in the field." (I. 295.)

Note particularly how the three chief enemies named are "avarice, ambition, and sensuality," the same trio that Eve so disastrously encountered in the garden. In these sonorous periods one can almost divine the epic struggling toward birth in the poet's imagination.

In the finished poem we can still detect the presence of the old plots, faded tho they are almost to extinction. The Debate of the Four Daughters, for instance, reappears in the Third Book, which corresponds roughly to Act 1 of the early draft, and also in the Tenth Book, transformed into the discussion between Father and Son in which is formed the design of the Atonement. The four virtues, Truth, Justice, Mercy, Peace, constantly recur in the discussion, personified but, if I may make a distinction, no longer personalized. A few examples will suffice:

He (Adam) with his whole posterity must die;
Die he or Justice must.

(III. 209.)

O Thou (Christ) in Heaven and Earth the only Peace
Found out for mankind under wrath.

(III. 274.)

With Joy and Love triumphing, and fair Truth.

(III. 338.)

He (Christ) to appease thy wrath, and end the strife
Of Mercy and Justice in thy face discern'd.

(III. 406.)

Easy it may be seen that I intend
Mercy colleague with Justice.

(X. 58.)

"Why comes not Death,"

Said he, "with one thrice-acceptable stroke
To end me? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,

Justice divine not hasten to be just?
 But Death comes not at call; Justice divine
 Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries."

(x. 854-9.)

Peace returned

Home to my breast.

(xi. 153.)

Indeed, a reading of these parts of the epic, usually regarded as dull and comparatively weak, in the light of the succession of medieval allegories of which they form the summit and capstone, should, it seems to me, give a new angle for criticism and inspire a new respect for the judgment and taste with which Milton accomplished this necessary part of his task.

He has kept considerably more of the Coming of Death. The figure of Death itself, and that of Sin, are the only pure abstractions left in the poem. The other "mutes" listed in the draft nearly all reappear in the cloud of evils which the Tenth Book describes as brought down upon the earth. But instead of making a "mask" of them as he indicated in the fourth draft, Milton has described them directly and concretely, with only passing personification. The retention of Sin and Death, which is usually felt as an incongruity in *Paradise Lost*, was perhaps due to the fact that the old medieval allegory was here reinforced by a new and original allegory derived from a favorite Protestant verse of Scripture ("Then when Lust hath conceived it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it is finished bringeth forth Death," *James* i, 15). Milton would perhaps have been able to escape the fascination of the old morality, had it stood alone, but when it became blended in his mind with the new Protestant allegory, its charms were too great for him to resist.²¹

The most important trace, however, of the influence of the moralities upon *Paradise Lost* is discoverable in the Conflict of the Vices and Virtues; and it lies not in the retention of any single abstraction, but in the grouping of the characters. Here lies, I believe, a valuable sidelight on the vexed question of the hero of the epic. Of course Adam is technically the hero, but he is what may be called a passive hero; he is the center of the story, acted upon rather than acting, and drawn hither and thither

²¹Cf. J. S. P. Tatlock, "Milton's Sin and Death," *MLN.* 21. 239 (1906).

by the two contending camps of Heaven and Hell. The chieftains of the two camps are respectively Christ and Satan, and naturally both of them are far stronger and more heroic in the ordinary sense of the word than is Adam. Hence the various theories that claim either Satan or Christ as "the hero" of *Paradise Lost*. Now the chief morality plot, the Conflict of Vices and Virtues, has precisely the same grouping; and the same result prevails in most of the moralities based upon it; the real hero Mankind is passive and weak; and the strongest rôle, the best acting part, is almost always the leader of the Vices, who developed in consequence into the stock character known as "the Vice of the play."²² ↑

It is noteworthy that precisely the same grouping prevails in Shakspeare's *Merchant of Venice*, which as we have seen shows distinct traces of the influence of another morality plot; and the same trouble has arisen over the identification of its hero. Antonio is the central character, the passive hero; Portia, a far stronger personality, is the leader of the Virtues; Shylock is the "Vice" of the play; and Portia and Shylock in consequence offer the strongest rôles.

Professor Erskine, in the article already referred to, well describes this impersonal and passive character of Adam, especially in the first part of the epic. It is plainly an inheritance from his earlier allegorical function as typical Man, no small part of which Milton allows him to retain. Of course Milton was perfectly aware that Adam = Mankind in Hebrew, just as Comus = Revelry in Greek.

The closeness with which the epic follows the typical plot of the Conflict of the Vices and Virtues has already been indicated. In the analysis of this typical plot which has been given above, it was noted that its later and commoner form, with Mankind as central character and his tempting the central incident, was preceded by a primitive form, exemplified in the *Psychomachia*, wherein Mankind is omitted and there is an actual physical combat between the forces of good and evil. Both the earlier and later forms appear in *Paradise Lost*. Corresponding to the primitive conflict of force is the battle in Heaven with the rebel angels; the later struggle of wits into which the morality developed reappears as the temptation in the garden. The introduction of the

²² Cf. *Magnificence*, intro. cxc-cxciv.

direct physical combat, tho already hinted at in the plans of 1640, has been greatly extended in the completed epic, where of course it supplies some of the most famous scenes. It is interesting to note that in the *Castle of Perseverance* there is just such a combination of the physical with the intellectual conflict:²² first the Vices make a frontal attack upon the Castle and its defenders, and only when they have been disastrously beaten back do they try the plan of secret service propaganda by sending Covetousness to talk with Humanum Genus behind the enemy's lines. The more intellectual form of offensive succeeds as brilliantly in the hands of Covetousness and of Satan as it has in more recent warfare.

In one respect, however, the old scheme has not been completely carried out in *Paradise Lost* as we have it. We have seen that the typical later form of the Conflict plot requires two struggles, in the first of which Evil is triumphant, but in the second Good; but the epic in its final form lacks this second struggle, or at best merely prefigures it. There is a suggestion of the last or Repentance stage of the moralities; but in the nature of the case there could be no complete restoration of Adam's lost happiness, and so *Paradise Lost* ends in sadness and defeat. The tragic close, much as it adds to the epic's dramatic and artistic effect, is a thing unparalleled by any form of the old morality, which was unfailingly optimistic.

The explanation lies of course in the fact that the last stage, the second struggle in which Virtue triumphs, is reserved for *Paradise Regained*, where the second Adam wins the same battle that the first Adam had lost. We have no early draft to show just when and how Milton first planned the epic of the Temptation of Christ; but it is not impossible that it was at one time conceived as merely the final act or the closing cantos of the larger work. A trace of such an original plan is perhaps betrayed by the fact that Milton issued *Paradise Lost* at first in ten books, instead of the consecrated epic number twelve, to which he altered it in the second edition. It may be that he once planned to devote Books Eleven and Twelve to what is now *Paradise Regained*, then later most fortunately changed his design and made two epics of what was in the beginning a single morality play. There is an interesting bit of evidence as to Milton's original intentions in the comparative

²² Cf. *Magnificence*, intro. cliv.

lengths of the different books of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, as shown in the following table:

<i>Paradise Lost</i>			<i>Paradise Regained</i>	
First and Second Ed.	First Edition	Second Edition		
Book I—798 lines	Book VII—1290	Book VII—640	Book I—502 lines	
“ II—1055 “		“ VIII—653	“ II—486 lines	
“ III—742 “	“ VIII—1189	“ IX—1189	“ III—443 lines	
“ IV—1015 “	“ IX—1104	“ X—1104	“ IV—639 lines	
“ V—907 “	“ X—1540	“ XI—901		
“ VI—912 “		“ XII—649		

The first edition of *Paradise Lost* thus averaged 1055 lines to the book, but when Books VII and X were divided the four new books thus formed were disproportionately brief, averaging only 711 lines. The four books of *Paradise Regained* are briefer still, averaging only 517 lines. If, now, we could suppose that these were originally planned for two books instead of four, the two would have averaged 1034 lines, very nearly the same length as the original ten books of *Paradise Lost*, and thus in length at least would have been qualified to take their place as Books Eleven and Twelve of the earlier epic. At any rate, whatever the truth about their original unity, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, as has always been recognized, certainly belong together; and together they completely fill up the measure of the typical morality plot.

In Milton's last work, the *Samson Agonistes*, the medieval type of allegory exemplified in the morality play has vanished altogether. What the *Samson* might have been like if it had been composed at an earlier period of the author's life may be gathered from a passage in *The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty* (1641):²⁴

“I cannot better liken the state and person of a king than to the mighty Nazarite Samson; who being disciplined from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his godlike shoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminished and unshorn, he may with the jawbone of an ass, that is, with the word of his meanest officer, suppress and put to confusion thousands of those that rise against his just power. But laying down his head among the strumpet flatteries of prelates, while he sleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly

²⁴ Quoted by Raleigh, *Milton*, p. 50.

shaving off all those bright and weighty tresses of his law, and just prerogatives, which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which, as those Philistines, put out the fair and far-sighted eyes of his natural discerning, and make him grind in the prison-house of their sinister ends and practices upon him; till he, knowing this prelati cal razor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right; and they, sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself." (II. 506.)

And yet *Samson Agonistes*, as it stands, is really one of the most allegorical of all Milton's works. It has not only an unmistakable second intention, that of imaging his own life and fortunes, but a third, that of setting forth the downfall of the Puritan party and its defense. Both applications have been many times pointed out and need not be recapitulated. The point to notice is that, thruout, the allegory is of the real and concrete form. There are few or no personified abstractions; and there is not a syllable that does not bear a plain and literal interpretation of the actual story in hand. *Samson Agonistes* is thus completely of the new age; and its allegory, so far as the type is concerned, is of precisely the same kind as that of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. The sort of symbolism used in these two poems is the same that Milton finds in the Earth itself:

Though what if Earth

Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein

Each to the other like, more than on Earth is thought?

No matter how numerous the symbols or how close the symbolism of earth to heaven, earth yet remains in its own concrete existence; and the narrative of Samson's fall is equally concrete.

Much might be said in conclusion of the relation of Milton's earlier use and later gradual disuse of medieval methods of allegory to his poetic style. Is not the famous "Miltonic vague," for instance, an effect due largely to the decaying fragments of the disappearing moralities and to the faded personifications in his later works? The abstract personification does not by any means necessarily produce this effect of stylistic vagueness; the impression is not felt, for example, by the reader of Milton's youthful poems or of the *Faerie Queen*, where the personifications are fresh and vivid. An unqualified personification, like Duessea or "divinest Melancholy," may be pictured with all the precise detail and sharp outline of a Botticelli; ²⁵ but such figures as Satan, half an indi-

vidual and half an abstract principle of Evil, or Adam, who stands now for generalized Mankind, now for the concrete first man, inevitably have their outlines blurred.

Milton was not only the inheritor and perfecter of the medieval morality tradition; he was also the gateway thru which the morality technique passed into later English literature. When in the eighteenth century Thomson, Collins, and Gray began to feel the magnetism of Milton's style, they responded by scattering thru their verses a profusion of Miltonic personifications, and thus filled their poetry with medieval terminology, without being aware of its ultimate medieval source. Seldom did they succeed in re-vitalizing this sounding Miltonic diction, for too often it was borrowed from Milton ready-made and not re-created in their own imaginations. And so, in spite of the fact that they got the trick mainly from the Minor Poems, the effect they achieved resembles rather that of the far less frequent personifications of *Paradise Lost* or *Samson Agonistes*. Wordsworth was entirely justified in condemning the "capital letter personifications" of his predecessors as "a mechanical device of style," tho he was ludicrously astray in declaring that "personifications of abstract ideas rarely occur" in his own volumes.²⁶ In point of fact he was even more addicted to their use than Milton had ever been, and some of his finest lines re-echo the old medieval figures. The poet who wrote "Nature never did betray the heart that loved her," "The World is too much with us," and

"Ghostly Shapes

May meet at noontide: Fear and trembling Hope,
Silence and Foresight, Death the Skeleton,
And Time the Shadow "

had no real quarrel with the personifications of the moralities when they were really made to live again as he could make them. In Wordsworth's case, as in Shelley's, the abstract personifications were the fruit of a genuine return of the spirit of Platonism. To adopt the useful distinction of Mr. Stewart,²⁷ theirs are spontaneous, not deliberate personifications. They often coincide with

²⁶ Cf. J. B. Fletcher, "The Painter of the Poets," *Studies in Philology*, April, 1917.

²⁷ In the "Preface to the Lyrical Ballads."

²⁸ J. A. Stewart, "Platonism in English Poetry," *English Literature and the Classics*, Oxford, 1912.

the personifications of medieval artists, not as a result of imitation or of conscious tradition, but because both ages shared alike in a genuine vision. Milton's use of personified abstractions was equally genuine and sincere, until he outgrew the philosophy that inspired them; and in proportion as they ceased to live for him he ceased to use them.

I have spoken of the progress in Milton's art from the abstract to the concrete type of symbolism. The term progress here does not necessarily imply any absolute advance either in truth or in literary art. A wider comparison with the development of thinkers and writers in other times will show the danger of such an assumption clearly enough. The direction of Milton's growth was an incident of his age and its changing cycles of philosophy. Had he lived in our day, he might very possibly have progressed in the reverse direction; for today we are returning to the standpoint of the Middle Ages, as in so many other things, so also in this matter of symbolism. The development of Ibsen, to mention a single example, was in this respect exactly opposite to Milton's. In earlier dramas such as *The Pretenders* and *The Enemy of the People*, he wrote parable plays, whereas during his last period he drew closer and closer to the morality in such plays as *The Masterbuilder* and *Little Eyolf*. The *Ratwife*, in the last named drama, is a thoroly medieval personification of Death.²⁸ After all, perhaps neither method of conveying spiritual truth has, in the last analysis, anything to do with the artistic greatness of a piece of literature, apt as the individual critic is to be prejudiced in favor of one or the other. Whatever the vehicle which the poet chooses, whether Platonic or Aristotelian, Realist or Nominalist, what really matters is the imaginative power that he puts behind it. The more glowing his poetic fire, the more truth he will be able to take up and fuse in his poetry. The real test is not the method by which he does it, but the amount of unfused, insoluble stuff that he leaves behind.

The observation of Samuel Butler is interesting in this connection: "Science is being daily more and more personified and anthropomorphised into a god. By and by they will say that science took our nature upon him, and sent down his only begotten son, Charles Darwin, or Huxley, into the world so that those who believe in him, etc.; and they will burn people for saying that science, after all, is only an expression for our ignorance of our own ignorance" (*Notebooks*, p. 339).

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MILTON'S OF EDUCATION

BY ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON

In the middle of the seventeenth century, when the intellectual world was teeming with new and disquieting pedagogical theories, no taint of radicalism could have been detected in the opening paragraphs of Milton's modest, eight-page pamphlet, *Of Education*. Turning contemptuously from the "many modern Januas and Didactics" to the sounder works of "old, renowned authors," Milton defines the aim of education in the time-worn phrases of the church. "The end then of learning," he explains, "is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection." Surprisingly orthodox this must have sounded after his bitter denunciation of the bishops and his heterodox theories on divorce. Doubtless, the definition would seem less arid then than now, to a people still apt to express its deepest feelings in the language of theologians. It would be just as suggestive of the needs of Puritan England as another statement on education: "nothing can be more necessary to principle the minds of men in virtue, the only genuine source of political and individual liberty, the only true safeguard of states, the bulwark of their prosperity and renown."¹ But even here, where the glow of Milton's personal convictions is more evident, there still is nothing subversive of the accepted teachings of Plato and Aristotle. Was the arch radical, then, of the Puritan Revolution a conservative thinker on problems of education?

Milton's interest in pedagogy was probably first aroused by his own experiences in St. Paul's School and at Cambridge, and by his reading there in "old, renowned authors," among them Plato and Xenophon, to whose "divine volumes" he had been led by "riper years and the ceaseless round of study and reading."² The classics were for him a source of knowledge and a stimulant to

¹ *Second Defence*, P. W., 1, p. 259. 1654.

² *Apology*, P. W., 3, p. 119.

- independent thought. But current events, also, attracted Milton's thoughts to England's schools. The Short Parliament had proposed the establishment of an academy in London "for the breeding and training up of young Noblemen and Gentlemen," and the Long Parliament, as early as 1641, listened favorably to the proposals of Comenius.³ Among the busy reformers of the schools Samuel Hartlib, Milton's personal friend, was the most zealous. He drew Comenius to England; he showed an interest in each idea of reform as it was advanced; and, in "those incidental discourses" alluded to by Milton, he prompted the poet-teacher to write the little tract *Of Education*. So Milton's life-long interest in education was the outgrowth both of his love of ancient civilization and of his contact with the men and affairs of his own day. The model school that he planned was to be "likest to those ancient and famous schools";
- but it was to meet also the needs of the modern world. He sought the authority of classical authors, as he did for even the most radical of his doctrines, but he would interpret that authority in the light of modern experience.

Milton's *Tractate* starts with purely destructive criticism of "the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful." Provoked by the interruptions of the frequent saints' days, which were especially obnoxious to Puritan reformers, Milton objected to the "too oft idle vacancies" in the life of the schools. Faulty methods, too, rendered much of both teachers' and pupils' efforts futile; seven or eight years, it is said, were spent "in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year."⁴ Equally profitless was the study of the universities, with its prime stress on logic and dialectic—"an asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles."

- The *Tractate on Education*, however, was neither the first nor the last of Milton's pronouncements on the subject. In one of the rhetorical essays delivered by Milton at Cambridge, he directed his criticism against the dominant scholastic philosophy. It seemed to him dull and uninteresting compared with the inspiring pursuit of poetry, history, and oratory, and altogether fruitless compared with the useful learning gathered from the study of natural science.

³ Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Education*, pp. 182, 97 ff.

⁴ *Of Education*, P. W., 3, pp. 465.

To the enthusiastic eulogy of these more delightful and profitable studies Milton returned in a later college oration.⁵ "There is an infinitude of things besides," he avers of the material world, "a good part of which might be learnt before I could have enumerated them all." To this is added the significant thought: "And what additional pleasure it is to the mind to wing its way through all the histories and local sites of nations, and to turn to the account of prudence and of morals the conditions and imitations of kingdoms, states, cities, and peoples." Here is found in germ all of Milton's mature thoughts on education. First, on all these subjects he was willing to defer to the authority of the ancients, especially Aristotle. Secondly, he insists on the importance of a knowledge of real things, as opposed to mere adroitness in the use of words. Thirdly, he shows his belief that learning can be, and must be, utilized in public service. While he was still resident at Cambridge his ideas on pedagogy had fully crystallized.

Milton never wavered in his belief that the orthodox discipline in grammar must yield place in the modern curriculum to the study of realities. "Language," he asserts, "is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them, as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only."⁶ Hence, true education, even in the university, must begin with sense experience—"with arts most easy, and those be such as are most obvious to the sense." And finally, "because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching."⁷ No sense-realist of modern times could speak more positively.

For this doctrine Milton found ample support in the theories, if not always in the practice, of past times. Plato believed that edu-

⁵ *Prohusiones Oratoriae*, 3, 7. See Masson, *Life of Milton*, 1, pp. 281 ff., 297 ff.

⁶ *Education*, P. W., 3, p. 464.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 466, 464.

cation for children should be a sort of play, and that abstract studies should be deferred until real things are learned.⁸ Comenius based his reforms on the same principle—things before words. The advice of Vives was: "no language is in itself worth the trouble of learning," the student's aim being to acquire "facts and ideas."⁹ In England Richard Mulcaster, Spenser's teacher at the Merchant Taylors' School, took the same position.¹⁰ "We attribute too much to tongues," he wrote, "in paying more heed to them than we do to matter." Bacon was of the same opinion. "Scholars in universities come too soon and too unripe to logic and rhetoric. . . . For minds empty and unfraught with matter, and which have not gathered that which Cicero calleth *sylva* and *supellex*, stuff and variety, to begin with those arts, . . . doth work but this effect, that the wisdom of those arts, which is great and universal, is almost made contemptible."¹¹ Finally, William Petty, in his answer to Milton's pamphlet, wrote: "it would be more profitable to boys to spend ten or twelve years in the study of things, and of this book of faculties, than in a rabble of words."¹² The aim of all these educators, Petty excepted, was to infuse into the rigid educational discipline then in vogue the liberal, cultural ideals of early humanism.

As an indication of this same trend back to older ideas, Milton's brief description of his model school is significant. He proposed to erect an academy in every city in England, or at least to convert "a spacious house and ground about it" to academic uses. In each house one hundred thirty boys were to be housed and educated under the care of twenty attendants and instructors. Special schools would still be needed for the advanced study of law and medicine; but ample instruction in all other subjects would be given in the academy proposed. The establishment of such local schools in England would dispense with the need both for the private tutorial instruction that so many gentlemen had provided for their sons and for the removal to a distant university center.

Such schools had long been known in Greece and Italy. Plato

⁸ *Republic*, Book 7; *Laws*, Book 7.

⁹ *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, 4, 1.

¹⁰ *Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster*, p. 219.

¹¹ *Advancement of Learning*, Book 2, Spedding's ed., p. 326.

¹² *The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib*. 1648. *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. 6.

in the *Laws* recommended public instruction for young men, and Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* exhibited most convincingly the beneficial results of such training. The early Italian humanists of the fifteenth century, following this Hellenic tradition, organized schools and mapped out fit courses of instruction for them. The most famous of these institutions was established by Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua. And Vives, in the sixteenth century, advised the erection of academies throughout the country, in places where food was plentiful but where the distractions of large towns and the dangers of foreign invasion were not felt.¹³ But already some Italian gentlemen had preferred a private education for their sons. Quintilian, at all events, saw fit to refute the arguments advanced for the employment of private tutors.¹⁴ He saw in the life of a school an emulation for the pupil and a stimulus for the teacher that could not be enjoyed in the privacy of the home. This view generally prevailed in Italy, where a compact social organization offered natural opportunities for the development of public schools. Milton's plan, then, for an academy was in strict accord with Hellenic tradition and the ideals of the early Renaissance.

In England, however, a markedly different social order led to the adoption of other ways. The English noblemen lived usually in seclusion on their own estates, and the private tutor was a familiar figure in their households. Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Gouernour* depicts this private training most attractively, and even Milton, the London scrivener, employed a fit tutor for his son, John Milton, before entering him at St. Paul's School. Gradually, however, conditions changed. One remembers that Roger Ascham, tutor to the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey, wrote the *Scholemaster* for the improvement of public instruction. Bacon, likewise, using some of the arguments of Quintilian, spoke positively in favor of the public school.¹⁵ And of course practical schoolmasters, like Richard Mulcaster and John Brinsley, were loyal to their profession. Their preference, naturally, was for the day school, and their care was for its betterment. But the day school for the common people and the academy for higher born youth had gained at least a theoretical acceptance in England before

¹³ *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, 1, 2-3.

¹⁴ *Institutes*, 1, 2, p. 21, Bohn's edition.

¹⁵ *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Liber 6, c. 4.

Milton opened his school in London in 1640. Again one sees how in Milton's treatise the tradition of the ancient world and the sentiment of his own day converged.

The course of study outlined for this model school is really staggering in its inclusiveness. The languages prescribed were Latin and Greek, Italian, Hebrew, and something of Chaldean and Syriac. In science the boys were to advance from arithmetic and geometry to geography and astronomy and such applied sciences as agriculture, engineering, and architecture. To these subjects Milton added, for their moral value, the ethical works of Cebes, Plutarch, Plato, Xenophon, Quintilian, and Cicero. Through these pagan moralists the boy would form his own character. Next, his attention was to be turned, in economics and politics, to the affairs of the state. Finally, toward the end of his schooling, poetry and prose, with those "organic arts" logic and rhetoric, were to be taken up. In general, the course gave little time to the humanities for their own sake, and tended strongly toward the useful.

Such an encyclopedic array of studies seems preposterous. Did the author stop to consider the capability of the ordinary boy when he wrote: "Ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gained; . . . whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect?" But Milton in his own little school actually carried the scheme into execution. Under his uncle's instruction Edward Philips followed a course of study every bit as comprehensive as that of the *Tractate*. Of course, Milton did not plan for thorough instruction in all these branches of study. His nephew received only the slightest introduction to Chaldean and Syriac, and, since special schools were to be provided for law and medicine, the mere rudiments of those sciences fell within the scope of the academy. But, even with this qualification, Milton's proposal seems beyond all reason.

From it the reader, accordingly, turns back with a sense of relief to the simpler, more purely cultural, aims of the Greeks. Aristotle specified as the essential branches of learning, reading and writing, gymnastic, music, and drawing. Plato's scheme was just as simple. Later, more comprehensive curricula were framed. Cicero and Quintilian, for example, in demanding that the orator be able to handle all subjects as need arises, virtually prescribe the broadest training. Quintilian and Vives mapped out in detail very

formidable courses of study. But most of the early Italian humanists counselled moderation, and sought their ends in a careful selection of subjects rather than through the inclusion of all. This, however, seemed hardly adequate for English youth; for, as Sir Thomas Elyot pointed out, his countrymen were handicapped by having no natural start in the most essential languages, Latin and Greek. Hence the demands of educators became more and more unreasonable, especially in the seventeenth century when the old zeal for mental and spiritual culture was displaced by a faith in knowledge as knowledge. To teach everybody everything, I believe, was the goal of Comenius' endeavors.

Of the many early writers on education Quintilian was really the first to go beyond general principles to a definite scheme of instruction. He laid out a most inclusive curriculum, but insisted that it could be carried out, since the human mind by nature is busy and active and in the young suffers little from fatigue. "Writing is relieved by reading, and the tedium of reading itself is relieved by changes of subject."¹⁶ Quintilian was directly followed by two great humanists, Erasmus and Vives. Vives, especially, is of importance for the student of Milton, since his treatise, *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, has been called the direct source of Milton's work.¹⁷

The two treatises are in certain respects alike. Vives, for instance, defined the general aim of education, as Milton did, in the language of the church. Vives also insisted that education must begin with sense experience, and that the study of language is not an end in itself but simply a tool for the attainment of knowledge. On this principle he outlined fully a course of study from which Milton might have derived most that he prescribed. In the study of agriculture, for example, Vives recommended six authors, of whom Milton retained three. And Vives stressed, too, the need of exercise, laid down rules governing diet, and described completely the organization of his school. Possibly this cumulative evidence will warrant the assumption that Milton drew many of his ideas directly from the *De Tradendis Disciplinis*.

To offset these similarities between Milton's plan and Vives,

¹⁶ *Institutes*, l. 12, pp. 92-93.

¹⁷ Foster Watson: *A Suggested Source of Milton's Treatise, Nineteenth Century*, 66, pp. 607-617. 1909.

however, marked differences appear. Vives' course of classical reading is so much more full than Milton's that the correspondences are obscured. For instance, Vives gave a bibliography for advanced philology, which Milton was not concerned with. Furthermore, Vives emphasized his divergence from classical authority and tradition, and seemed more suspicious of the wholesomeness of pagan literature than Milton ever was. Again, Vives recommended modern writers in history and poetry; for among them "there are many not less worthy of being known and read than the majority of Greek and Latin historians." He strongly disapproved, too, of war and would have stricken from Milton's curriculum the daily exercise in arms that it provided for. And Vives believed thoroughly in the value of direct observation of nature, whereas Milton trusted largely to book knowledge. Physics was to be taught in Milton's school "out of some not tedious writer," and even agriculture was to be learned from books; for if occasionally hunters, fowlers, shepherds, or fishermen came to the school to tell their "helpful experiences," the boys would gain "a real tincture of natural knowledge." Others besides Milton had this full trust in the adequacy of book learning. Sir Thomas Elyot had asked of Virgil: "What ploughe man knoweth so moche of husbandry as there is expressed? who, delitynge in good horsis, shall nat be therto more enflamed, reding there of the bredyng, chesinge, and kepyng, of them? In the declaration whereof Virgile leaueth farre behynde hym all breders, hakneyemen, and skosers."¹⁸ To this conclusion neither Vives nor Comenius would have subscribed.

Such contrasts are certainly as striking as the resemblances between the two books, and the evidence hardly warrants a verdict. That Milton had read Vives' work one willingly believes who knows the poet's eclecticism of mind. But, if we grant Milton the ideas that language is only the means to knowledge, and that the classical literatures are the richest storehouses of literary, philosophical, and scientific treasure, ideas that he could have gathered from almost any Italian humanist, we must expect many correspondences between the reading-lists compiled by the two men. The likelihood is, that Vives is only one of the "old, renowned authors" whose ideas Milton had thoroughly assimilated in forming his own theory.

¹⁸ *Governour*, 1, 10.

In general three lines of influence converged to form Milton's *Tractate*. There was first the broadly outlined philosophy of the ancients. Of these thinkers only the late Roman, Quintilian, elaborated his plan with any degree of definiteness. Secondly, the ideas of the early Renaissance controlled Milton's thought to a marked degree. French civilization meant nothing to him. He even commended his young friend, Richard Jones, for "despising the luxuries of Paris" to hasten on to Italy, as Milton himself had done, where he "might enjoy the pleasures of literature and the conversation of the learned."¹⁹ "The monsieurs of Paris," he complained, "take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over, back again, transformed into mimics, apes, and kickshaws."²⁰ But the early humanism of Italy and Spain and the later revival of learning in Tudor England, most finely exemplified in the writings of Vergerius, Aeneas Sylvius, Vives, Erasmus, Sir Thomas Elyot, and Roger Ascham, contributed the second influence to the formation of Milton's theories.²¹ Lastly, the treatises of practical English teachers, especially those who carried on the high traditions of the Renaissance, lent to Milton's tract at least a portion of its realization of the needs of the time.

The Renaissance in England had enriched the minds and guided the energies of various types of men. More was primarily the statesman; Spenser, the poet; and Ascham and Mulcaster, teachers. The *Scholemaster* has left a vivid impression of the genial, broad-minded Roger Ascham; but of Richard Mulcaster, unfortunately, the world knows less. As headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School for twenty-five years and of St. Paul's for twelve, he gained wide experience in his profession. Hence he did not defer to authority as Milton was apt to do. "It is no proof," he said, "that because Plato praiseth something, because Aristotle approveth it, because Cicero commends it, because Quintilian or anyone else is acquainted with it, therefore it is for us to use. . . . He that will deal with writers so as to turn their conclusions to the use of his country must be very well advised."²² But Milton may have

¹⁹ *Familiar Letters*, 25. 1657.

²⁰ *Education*, P. W., 3, p. 478.

²¹ A fine study of Italian humanism, with several texts and bibliography, is found in Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*.

²² *Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster*, p. 9.

derived something of his trust in method from Mulcaster. He had faith that, if a right method could be instituted, "the scholar would not learn anything he ought to forget, or leave anything needful unlearned."²³ To an equal degree Milton stressed the proper ordering of studies. Mulcaster, however, trusted less extensively than Milton did to a knowledge gained from books. And with a democratic spirit that Milton shows nothing of in the *Tractate*, Mulcaster preferred the day school to the boarding school; he disapproved of foreign travel, in which he saw "danger to health, to life, to conduct"; and he believed that the sons of gentlemen should enjoy no advantages denied to poor men's sons, since "their minds are the same as those of the common people, and their bodies are often worse."²⁴ So the theories of the two men diverged, owing to differences of temperament and profession; but Mulcaster, too, was a follower of the higher ideals of the Renaissance, and on broader issues they will be found in hearty accord.

John Brinsley, an early seventeenth-century London teacher, had less of the Renaissance spirit than either Mulcaster or Ascham. Yet he wrote the dialogue of *Ludus Literarius* and the *Consolation for Our Grammar Schools* in a modest and truly liberal spirit. As a master in the lower schools he naturally laid first emphasis on instruction in "our owne English tongue" and in arithmetic, for many boys "almost ready to goe to the University . . . can hardly tell you the numbers of pages, sections, chapters or other divisions in their books." He believed, too, that pupils should "learne only such bookes and matters, as whereof they may have the best use," and that the curriculum should be so arranged that "the things taught before do euer giue light to those that follow after."²⁵ But he had had enough experience to realize that no one method can be prescribed for all teachers: "the varietie of teaching is diuerse, and alwayes will be, for that euerie Schoolmaister liketh that which he knoweth & seeth not the vse of that which he knoweth not."²⁶ Such charity toward his fellow workers as well as his general modesty were due to the fact that he had "trauelled chiefly for our meaner & ruder schooles." Seemingly, he recog-

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 66.

²⁵ *Consolation*, p. 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

nized the differences between his own professional status and Mulcaster's or Ascham's; he would not have counted Milton, we suspect, other than an amateur in the profession. Nevertheless, all these English scholars were working with one fixed principle in mind, and all, in one way or another, voiced Brinsley's sentiment: "what maketh a nation to be a glorious nation, but that the people are a wise and an understanding people."²⁷

The historical affiliations of Milton's treatise are plainly revealed in its most famous sentence: "I call therefore a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." This noble definition had its prototypes in the philosophy of the Greeks, the Italian humanists, and Tudor Englishmen. The chief aim of education, as Plato and Aristotle conceived it, was the rearing of citizens. From another great classical authority, Cicero, the early Italian humanists were fond of quoting the statement, "virtutis laus omnis in actione constitit." This was simply amplified by Aeneas Sylvius in the words: "the true praise of men lies in doing, and that consequently all ingenious trifling, however harmless in itself, which withdraws our energies from fruitful activity, is unworthy of the true Citizen."²⁸ Equally significant is the definition of Vergerius: "we call those studies liberal which are worthy of a free man; those studies by which we attain and practise virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth, trains, and develops those highest gifts of body and mind which ennoble men, and which are rightly judged to rank next in dignity to virtue only."²⁹ The idea was then carried into northern Europe by men like Erasmus, who believed that education should prepare men for social service. Sir Thomas Elyot, also, hoped that proper schooling would render Englishmen "of so excellent wisdom that throughout all the world should be found in no common weal more noble counsellors."³⁰ That was Mulcaster's hope, too; "the end of education and training is to help nature to her perfection in the complete development of all the various powers. . . . Whereby each shall be best able to perform

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁸ *De Liberorum Educatione*, Woodward's ed. p. 155.

²⁹ *De Ingeniis Moribus*, Woodward's ed., p. 102.

³⁰ *Gouverneur*, p. 289.

all those functions in life which his position shall require, whether public or private, in the interest of his country in which he was born, and to which he owes his whole service." ²¹ This last statement of the principle brings one close indeed to Milton's actual words. And had authority been demanded for his nobly-framed definition, true eclectic that he was, he could have cited the master minds of Greece, the leaders of the early Renaissance, and some of the most gifted of his own countrymen.

However formal or barren, then, academic life may have become, especially in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the cultural aim of the true Renaissance was never wholly forgotten. That the real justification of a liberal education is the full rounding out of character, preparatory to efficient, unselfish public service, was the guiding principle of the early humanists. And even as formalism tightened its grip on the schools, liberal thinkers constantly revived the earlier ideals.

The best known advocate of this courtly training was of course Montaigne. In the interesting essay *Du Pedantisme*, he took issue squarely with pedantry. "We labour and toil and plod to fill the memory, and leave both understanding and conscience empty." "See but one of these our university men or bookish scholars return from school," he complains, "after he hath spent ten or twelve years under a pedant's charge: who is so unapt for any matter? who so unfit for any company? who so to seek if he come into the world?" He fails to see how it can become a gentleman to be "fast-tied, and as it were labouring fourteen or fifteen hours a day poring on his book, as some do, as if he were a day-labouring man." Montaigne, instead, "would have this world's frame to be my scholar's chief book"; for "the good that comes of study (or at least should come) is to prove better, wiser, and honester."

Social position and temperament alike contributed largely to the determination of Montaigne's prejudices. He inherited from Rabelais something of this dislike for scholastic discipline, and the insurgent spirit was in the air. Hence Montaigne's influence counted heavily toward reform. The courtly academy took firm root as a French institution, where riding, dancing, fencing, languages, history, and political philosophy were taught to young princes. For the imparting of this same culture the Ritterakade-

²¹ *Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster*, p. 237.

mien were founded in Germany, and in 1650 Sir Balthazar Gerbier established such an institution in London, that young English gentlemen might no longer need to travel to France for their courtly training.

But Milton esteemed the French too little to be influenced by their reforms. He was more directly reached by the courtly training recommended by the Italian humanists and transplanted from Italy to England by Ascham, Sir Thomas Elyot, and Bacon. Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour* shows what that Italian-born ideal came to be in its new home.

In general, Sir Thomas Elyot expressed the sentiments of a high-minded courtier. Like Milton in the *Tractate*, he was concerned only with "the fourmynge the gentill wittes of noble mennes children." Consequently, he deprecated "that pestiferous opinion, that great learned men be inapt to ministration of things of weighty importance," and he demanded of the schools "men of so excellent wisdom that throughout all the world should be found in no common weal more noble counsellors." To that end he advocated the broadest physical and mental training. But he advised strongly that no subject be pursued farther than courtly life and public service may require. Even a fine art like music became in his eyes illiberal if too great skill is exacted and acquired. And he valued geography, history, and painting for their practical usefulness in the affairs of life. Yet in his enthusiasm for culture—"the most swete and pleasant redinge of olde autours"—he was a true child of the Renaissance. In Homer he found the best lessons for young gentlemen, and in Plato, "incomparable swetenesse of wordes and matter"; for he felt nothing of Vives' fear of pagan authors. Like the author of the *Areopagitica* he was trustful of man's readiness to choose the good; "no wyse man entreth in to a gardein, but he sone espie the good herbes from nettiles, and treadeth the nettiles under his feete whiles he gadreth good herbes."²² Such a union of courtliness and true love of learning was diametrically opposed to the pedantry of the early schools.

The sources of Sir Thomas Elyot's work may be easily traced. Both he and Castiglione, to prove that letters are a credit to a prince, cite the fondness of Scipio for the *Cyropaedia*. Castiglione,

²² *Gouverneur*, p. 13; *Areopagitica*, P. W., 2, p. 68.

too, recommends painting for its usefulness in the conduct of military operations. Other Italian humanists, also, left a traceable influence on the *Gouverneur*. Among them Professor Woodward mentions, Matteo Palmieri, Francesco Patrizi, Aeneas Sylvius, and Macchiavelli. Their ideal of a courtly education for public service, so persuasively set forth by Sir Thomas Elyot, could not be forgotten. In an anonymous tract, *The Institution of a Gentleman*, published in 1555, a gentleman is defined as "a man fit for the wars and fit for the peace." In another tract, *Queen Elizabeth's Academy*, written in 1572 by the great explorer, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Milton's famous definition is again anticipated in the phrase, "matters of action meet for present practice, both of peace and war."³³ The courtly ideal had indeed taken firm root in England.

The need for trained men was seemingly greater in Milton's time, especially in his own party, than it had been when Sir Humphrey Gilbert wrote. The universities, for which Milton had never full respect, were in 1644 in the hands of the Royalists. Oxford was the refuge of King Charles, and Cambridge, only a little later, expelled twelve heads of colleges and almost two hundred fellows. The war, also, was then turning against the Puritans. When Milton penned the *Tractate*, Cromwell had not yet proved his power of leadership, and the Parliamentary cause seemed liable to shipwreck. The need for true soldiers and far-seeing statesmen was imperative, and Milton felt that England's schools had been remiss in preparing the youth of the country for the crisis. He himself had been taught the use of weapons, and he insisted on early military training.³⁴ For the times demanded of men "firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our protestation, and the inforcement of a slavish life."³⁵ With the right training the English youth would be "stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages"; and in times of war there would step forth "renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country."³⁶

³³ Woodward, *Studies in Education*, pp. 296 ff.

³⁴ *Contemporary Life of Milton*, ed. Lockwood, p. xxxv.

³⁵ *Apology*, P. W., 3, p. 113. Read the account of his early life, pp. 110-122.

³⁶ *Education*, P. W., 3, pp. 468, 477.

The Puritans felt the want of trained men most urgently after the cessation of hostilities, when the reorganization of the state taxed Cromwell's powers to the utmost. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." So Milton, in the eloquent admonition of the *Second Defence*, warned Cromwell that the cares and dangers of peace "are exertions compared with which the labour of war is mere pastime."²⁷ To prepare men for such service had been the poet's earliest aim, as an educator; for he had included political science among the studies of his model school, that men "may not, in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shewn themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state."²⁸ The same distrust of England's statesmanship was expressed again in his trenchant review of the Long Parliament's career.²⁹ He felt that England was "fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war," but "not over-fertile of men able to govern justly and prudently in peace." His countrymen seemed lacking in "civility, prudence, love of the public good"; they were "valiant indeed, and prosperous to win a field; but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious and unwise: in good or bad success, alike unteachable." Milton even ventured to suggest that, because their country was without the warm sun that "ripens wits as well as fruits," England would have to learn the "civil virtues" in southern lands.

For the rearing of public men, able to guide the country in war and peace, the *Tractate* was designed. Naturally, the author's chief concern was the nurture of gentlemen's sons. But it does not follow that he cared nothing for the education of the common people, and in other tracts he pleaded eloquently for that. Milton's first prose treatise, *Of Reformation in England*, is dominated by the ideal of a people universally educated. At the Reformation, he argued, the Bible had been "sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues." The English people, therefore, were to be reproached for relinquishing to the bishops "the earnest

²⁷ *P. W.*, 1, p. 290.

²⁸ *Education*, *P. W.*, 3, p. 472.

²⁹ *History of Britain*, *P. W.*, 5, pp. 239-240.

study of virtue and godliness, . . . and the search of divine knowledge." For the Fathers had "sent all comers to the Scriptures," believing that its essential parts were not too difficult for the common man. Thus the whole argument rests on the assumption of adequate training of all men. The world-old truth was expressed again, and eloquently, in the passage: "to govern well is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from thence, magnanimity, . . . and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, likeness of God. . . . This is the true flourishing of a land, other things follow as the shadow does the substance."⁴⁰

Even more plainly Milton's last two tracts, written in 1659 and 1660, urge the necessity of universal education. In the *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, a nation's safety is said to lie in making "the people fittest to choose, and the chosen fittest to govern." To this end the citizens "should have here also schools and academies at their own choice, wherein their children may be bred up in their own sight to all learning and noble education; not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises." Such conditions would communicate "the natural heat of government and culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie dumb and neglected; would soon make the whole nation more industrious, more ingenious at home, more potent, more honourable abroad."

The same plea for universal education had been advanced in Milton's argument of the preceding year for a purely voluntary church. Such a church can exist only if the people as a whole are soundly educated. Consequently, the author proposed "to erect in greater number, all over the land, schools, and competent libraries to those schools, where languages and arts may be taught free together." Those who were so taught, "freely at the public cost," and given a "competence of learning," especially if "an honest trade" were included in the training, would make in the end ample return for the opportunities afforded them.

No one who examines all these various passages will regard the treatise *Of Education* alone as a complete statement of Milton's

⁴⁰ P. W., 2, pp. 367, 378, 384, 387, 390-391.

⁴¹ P. W., 2, pp. 124, 126, 136.

⁴² *The Likeliest Means*, P. W., 3, pp. 26-27.

theories on England's schools. The work stands chronologically about midway between his open criticism of the traditions at Cambridge and the argument of these last two tracts. He wrote the *Tractate* without ostentation, but with a very obvious sense of his right to speak. Was he not well fitted, by actual experience as a teacher, by wide reading, especially in the treatises of the Italian humanists, and by a closely felt appreciation of the needs of the time, to claim authority? In this one work, prompted by the interest of Hartlib, Milton was concerned only with a particular type of school and the needs of a certain class. But already he had considered the needs of the nation as a whole. Then, as time went on and as the Puritans faced defeat,

On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues;
In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,

Milton seemed to have thought more of universal education and less of courtly training. A long passage in *Paradise Regained* on ancient literature might be taken to indicate a changed attitude toward the humanities. One suspects, however, that even in his last years he would still have urged on the sons of gentlemen much that same training that he had offered in 1644. But in late life the larger needs of the common people seemed to him the greater need. He still looked with reverence to the "old, renowned authors"; but he had learned lessons, too, in the school of experience. Viewed in this light, his proposed scholastic reforms assume a new importance. The *Tractate* was not an accidental effort, hastily put together to satisfy a friend. It marks only one stage of the author's endeavor to spread the benefits of education throughout England. His interest in the cause was lifelong, and his words on the subject, scattered here and there through his writings, represent his widest scholarship and his vital interest in the welfare of mankind.

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THE TEMPTATION MOTIVE IN MILTON

BY JAMES HOLLY HANFORD

Milton, like all Puritans, was prone to detect in almost every phase of human experience the presence of a moral conflict, to interpret even those aspects which to other men raise no moral questions, in terms of the eternal struggle of good and evil. Victory or defeat in this struggle is the crucial issue in the lives of men as Milton read them, and accordingly temptation, yielded to or overcome, is a dominant motive of his creative art. It is the purpose of this paper to illustrate the application of this principle, not merely to those poems in which it is obvious and universally recognized, but to the whole body of his imaginative work. Such an application, though suggested everywhere in Milton criticism, has never been fully made. The investigation involves a classification of the chief aspects in which the lure of evil presented itself to Milton's consciousness and raises some important questions of interpretation. It serves to throw into strong relief the conflict between the Puritan and the merely human sides of Milton's nature and to emphasize in a new way the well recognized relation between his personal character and the objective creations of his imagination.

I

It was inevitable that Milton should have dealt largely with the subject of temptation. It was no less inevitable that the phases of temptation which he depicts should have been those which presented themselves most characteristically to his own experience. Of these the most obvious is what may be called the temptation of the sense. Milton's strongly sensuous nature and his Renaissance inheritance of appreciation of the absolute value of the life of sensation found themselves in conflict with the inherent asceticism of the Puritan ideal. In his earliest works there is but slight trace of such a conflict. The love of moral purity and the love of beauty, which were the dominant passions of his youth, exist side by side without contradiction. Most of the Latin poems are frank in their avowal of delight in the senses. So also are the Italian sonnets and the English sonnet

on the Nightingale. In *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* the choice presented is simply between two refined ideals of sense enjoyment, and that choice is presented without committal to either one. The attitude is naive and semi-pagan, an Epicureanism modified only by the ideal of temperance present in Milton's consciousness from the first. In *Lycidas* and the *Sixth Elegy* an opposition is created between the principle of sense indulgence and that of a tempered asceticism, not, however, on strictly moral grounds. The choice comes to Milton as a seeker after the highest poetical achievement. Those who devote themselves to light elegy, he writes to Diodati, may freely indulge in the enjoyments of the Christmas revels; the great serious poet must live sparsely, after the manner of Pythagoras. So, with an added suggestion of the difficulty of the course, in *Lycidas*,

Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
(That last infirmity of noble mind)
To scorn delights, and live laborious days.

In *Comus* the issue is clear cut between sensuality and virtue, but, in accordance with the mediæval temper of Milton's mind and art at this period, he represents the opposition in purely abstract terms. The poem is an allegory rather than a picture of temptation, and the conflict seems remote and unreal. It is as if Milton foresaw rather than actually felt it.

In *Paradise Lost*, on the other hand, the struggle is within the soul. The poem represents the culminating point in Milton's consciousness of danger from this source. It is unnecessary to emphasize the primarily sensual character of Adam's temptation and sin or the relation of the dramatic portrayal to Milton's personal experience. The subject has been comprehensively discussed in Professor Greenlaw's article, "A Better Teacher than Aquinas," and in my own on "The Dramatic Element in *Paradise Lost*," in *Studies in Philology* for April, 1917; it is also treated in such standard works on Milton as that of Raleigh. In both *Paradise Lost* and *Comus* the doctrine of temperance makes possible a partial reconciliation between the ascetic and the sensuous ideals, the legitimacy of restrained enjoyment being duly defended and the real temptation in *Paradise Lost* being interpreted simply as that of sinful excess. The same characteristic point of view is represented in the sonnet "To Mr. Lawrence":

He who of those delights can judge, and spare
To interpose them oft, is not unwise.

In *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* the ascetic point of view has triumphed, but the immediate sense of the reality of the temptation has disappeared. The motive clearly appears in Belial's proposal to tempt Christ with female beauty and in Dalila's endeavor to reawaken passion in the heart of Samson, incidents which seem like distant echoes of the supreme crisis in the life of Adam. In neither poem is there any suggestion of a compromise or of a conflict in Milton's mind between the two ideals. Thus Satan scornfully rejects the idea that any such lure will be of avail with Christ, and Samson proves by his lack of response to Dalila's blandishments how completely free he is from all trace of his former weakness. Milton retains a vivid memory of the temptation,

Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,
After offense returning, to regain
Love once possessed,

but he has, presumably, like Samson ceased himself to feel its power.

II

No less essential an element in Milton's personal makeup than the love of sensuous beauty was the abstract love of knowledge; in like manner the intellectual passion and the pride of intellectual achievement, indulged in for their own sake and without reference to moral ends, came to be felt by him, under the Puritan spell, to contain an element of danger. The opposition here is not, perhaps, so sharp as in the former case. Intellectual curiosity and the pursuit of fame are less patently associated with the thought of sin, and the line of demarcation between knowledge sought for its own sake and knowledge which looks toward the securing of the soul's salvation is more difficult to draw, especially for a disciple of the Reformation and a Platonist. The *Areopagitica* shows how liberal was Milton's interpretation of the permissible in intellectual activity, but it also shows that the subordination of such activity to moral and religious uses was constantly in his thought. Truth, which is the goal of all thought and study, is for him religious truth, "which came once into the world with

her Divine Master." So, also, in the tract on Education the end of learning is "to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him." The supplementary idea that we can most clearly arrive at such knowledge "by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature," and the later definition of a complete and generous education as "that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public, of peace and war," is where Milton parts company with the Middle Ages and the strictest Puritanism and joins the Renaissance. Yet the absolute "*nihil humanum*," though as strong an instinct in Milton as in any man, could not be accepted by him as a principle, however much in actual practice he lived and wrought in the spirit of this creed. Not frequently, perhaps, in his own zeal for knowledge was he checked by the consciousness of sin, but it was inevitable, even with a man so assured of the rightness of his ways as Milton, that the question should sometimes have intruded itself upon his thoughts. Certainly his theory remained fixed; and, recognizing the presence of a temptation even here, he more than once incorporates it as a motive in his works.

In *Paradise Lost* Adam, seeking for more knowledge than the angel has vouchsafed him, is met with the warning to ask no further:

Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there; be lowly wise;
Think only what concerns thee and thy being;
Dream not of other worlds.

(VIII, 172-5.)

It is not without astonishment that we read these words from Milton's pen. They seem like the most violent contradiction of the whole spirit of his life and jar strangely with the impassioned plea for free inquiry in the *Areopagitica*. Yet the utterance is not insincere. It is the stern Puritan who speaks, chastening as with a rod the unregenerate spirit of intellectual curiosity, which, like passion, is instinctive in the human heart. Both tendencies are, in Milton's view, weak spots in the armor of the natural man, even in Adam living without sin. They are, however, equally innocent *per se*; and here the doctrine of temperance comes again to Milton's rescue, though not without a subtle contradiction.

Though all knowledge which is not "for use" is sin (Milton does not quite call it sin but folly) we may freely seek if we seek not to know too much.

But knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her temperance over appetite, to know
In measure what the mind may well contain;
Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.

(VII, 126-30.)

As for Adam he can willingly content himself within the limits set by his angelic guest. He even elaborates the point.

To whom thus Adam, cleared of doubt, replied:—
"How fully hast thou satisfied me, pure
Intelligence of Heaven, Angel serene,
And, freed from intricacies, taught to live
The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
To interrupt the sweet of life, from which
God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares,
And not molest us, unless we ourselves
Seek them with wandering thoughts and notions vain!
But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
Unchecked; and of her roving is no end,
Till, warned, or by experience taught, she learn
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom; what is more is fume,
Or emptiness, or fond impertinence."

(VIII, 179-195)

Clearly it is not through this gateway that sin will find access to Adam's soul. With Eve, however, the case is different. She had sought, in innocence, to learn by listening unperceived that which concerned her not to know, and vain curiosity to try the experience of good and evil is one of the co-operating motives in her fall.

In *Paradise Regained* the issue comes up again and that in a form which seems to bring us nearer to a real debate in Milton's mind. In the highly elaborate second temptation Satan shows Christ "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them." Milton interprets the temptation progressively. The power of wealth is offered first, as a means of satisfying physical appetite and as a means by which Christ may accomplish his purpose. When the

Lord rejects both wealth and the power of wealth Satan proposes fame; lastly he actually exhibits empire before his eyes, passing from the spectacle of mere material power illustrated by Parthia and Rome to the more glorious one of intellect and culture embodied in the literature and thought of ancient Athens. The representation is from one point of view historical and dramatic. The issue between the specious and the true means of accomplishing his mission is such a one as might be supposed actually to have presented itself to Christ. But we feel that the tempter, while ostensibly submitting these things as an aid to Christ's messiahship, relies also on their attractiveness for their own sakes. The connection with a special and divine mission, though representative of the way in which men of high ideals may be seduced from their true course, is in the main peculiar to the historical Christ, but the elaborate review of the things of this world considered as objects of desire applies to all mankind. The extension and emphasis of the account can hardly be explained except on the supposition that Milton was aiming chiefly at this broader application. The tempter who rejects female beauty as an instrument of temptation would little deserve his reputation for subtlety, so completely does he forget Christ and his situation in passage after passage, if he were not directing his appeal through Christ to humanity at large. Milton slightly masks his purpose by insisting on the human rather than the divine aspect of Christ. Considered as Son of God his experience is unique; considered as man it is universal; as mankind fell through Adam's weakness, it stands again in Christ's firm resistance of the characteristic temptations of human life. Such, as I conceive, it is the true theme of *Paradise Regained*. The poem is a majestic piece of symbolism, expressing in objective and historical terms a subjective and universal content. The criticisms which have been levelled at Milton's handling of the second temptation fail to take into account the author's wider purpose. He is charged with having falsified the biblical account by elaborating the simple phrases of Scripture and making Christ argue with his enemy. But how else could he have contrived to reveal the pageant of this world, displaying, as he does to the full extent of his powers, on the one hand its glamor of attractiveness, and on the other its vanity? It is, indeed, this object which justifies Milton in writing at all on

the temptation. Whether true or false to the psychology of Christ the poem has a universal validity as a great debate between the good and evil principles, a modern "*de contemptu mundi*," written by a man who could, in his own phrase, "apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better."

In this interpretation *Paradise Regained* gives us a more complete insight than any of the earlier works into Milton's thought concerning the nature and aspects of temptation. The lure of the senses is here, in the description of the banquet, which, as Mr. A. H. Gilbert has conclusively shown,¹ is a part of the second temptation, not a repetition of the first. The feast is calculated not merely to satisfy hunger, but to satisfy it in a sumptuous manner and with an appeal to the æsthetic sense.

And at a stately sideboard, by the wine
That fragrant smell diffused, in order stood
Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas; distant more,
Under the trees now tripped, now solemn stood,
Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naides
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
And ladies of the Hesperides, that seemed
Fairer than feigned of old, or fabled since
Of faery damsels met in forest wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.
And all the while harmonious airs were heard
Of chiming strings or charming pipes; and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odors fanned
From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells.

(II, 350-365.)

The whole marvellous passage has been blunderingly assailed by an illustrious line of Milton critics, who begin by confounding it with the temptation to turn the stone to bread and assert that Milton has lowered the moral tension of the original and has failed in his artistic aim because "given Christ's nature, the temptation is not tempting." The answer is obvious.

¹ "The Temptation in *Paradise Regained*," *Journal of English and German Philology*, 1916.

The banquet stands for luxury. If Christ, after forty days of fasting in the wilderness would not have been moved by such a scene, most men would find ~~in it~~ ^{in it} no small degree alluring.

As for Milton himself, his point of view toward the merely material side of the temptation, the banquet, perhaps, in its grosser aspects, certainly the thirst for wordly power and the glory of conquerors and princes, is wholly impersonal. He knows that these things move men; him they do not move. He grows enthusiastic, it is true, as he pictures the grandeur that was Rome, but it is because that grandeur appeals to him as an object of knowledge and contemplation. Rome as a material fact had ceased to be, but the Rome of the imagination, "with towers and temples proudly elevate," lived on and powerfully appealed to Milton's interest. This consideration serves to lead us to that element in the temptation which comes closer to his personal sympathies and inclinations.

? In a memorable passage in Book IV (238-284) Milton gives the most eloquent of pleas for ancient culture. He speaks in his own person as a man of the Renaissance; yet in putting the plea in the mouth of Satan and in making Christ reject it all as vanity he reveals the obstinate Puritanical questioning, the same that dictated the angel's rebuke of Adam for considering too curiously what concerned him not to know. Nor can it be said that the poet was led simply by dramatic probability to make Christ condemn all ancient wisdom as

Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm;

to dismiss even Plato, who had so dominated Milton's own best thought, as but a master of "fabling and smooth conceit." It is from the depths of his conviction that Milton speaks in Christ's pronouncement,

He who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs.

(iv, 288 ff.)

Even here, however, the old contradiction still remains. In the midst of his disparagement of classical philosophy Milton weakens.

But these are false, or little else but dreams.

And of these dreams he cannot bring himself to say quite flatly that Jesus Christ was ignorant.

The Temptation Motive in Milton

Think not but that I know these things, or think
I know them not.

He hedges again in making Christ modify his position and condemn, not the reading of many books, but mere reading "without a judgment equal or superior" to what is read. Finally he effects a half reconciliation between his love of learning and his Puritanism by opposing Hebrew literature at all points to pagan and contending for its superiority (IV, 331-364).

In his treatment of fame Milton again encounters the problems raised by his own instinct strengthened by the traditions of the Renaissance. Unmoved as he was by vulgar fame of worldly power Milton had been from his youth a devotee of that fame which comes from glorious achievement in the kingdom of the mind. But even this nobler ambition was in conflict with his Puritan view of what is and what is not the true object of man's earthly sojourn. Confronted with this conflict Milton again contrives, while preserving the moral issue, to reconcile the aspiration of the natural man with the claims of his higher theological existence. Satan praises fame and glory,

Glory the reward
That sole excites to high attempts the flame
Of most erected spirits.

Christ's reply is a rejection of vain or earthly glory, of glory for its own sake, but an implied acceptance of the higher glory, which comes from virtue.

This is true glory and renown, when God
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man and divulges him through Heaven.

(III, 60-62.)

The whole passage is an echo, in very similar terms, of *Lycidas*. Milton's thought on the subject apparently had not changed in all the intervening years.

Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
Nor in the glistening foil
Set off to the world, nor in broad rumour lies,
But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
And perfect witness of all judging Jove;

As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
Of so much fame in Heaven expect thy meed.³

The pursuit of fame is a phase of the great sin of pride. It was this "last infirmity of noble mind" which had prompted Satan himself to rebellion and attended him even as a spirit damned, as Milton fittingly recalls in connection with Christ's ordeal:

So spake the Son of God; and here again
Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
With guilt of his own sin—for he himself,
Insatiable of glory, had lost all.

The true aim of man is God's glory, not his own:

For why should man seek glory who of his own
Hath nothing.

Satan had sought his own and fallen. Christ said

I seek not mine, but His
Who sent me.

ISTIAN Such then is Milton's ascetic view of fame. But into both *Lycidas* and *Paradise Regained* there intrudes, in contradiction to the idea that fame is a thing which lives from man to God alone, the recognition of a worth in earthly glory. We feel that the passage in *Lycidas* is after all the result of a human rather than a religious aspiration. The really vital and essential contrast there is between the shortness of man's life and the eternity of fame:

But the fair guerdon when we hope to find . . .
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-spun life. "But not the praise,"
Phoebus replied, and touched my trembling ears.

In *Paradise Regained* the distinction is drawn between a temporary blaze of fame and the lasting recognition of true merit. The one, the portion of conquerors and princes, is cut short by death:

³ The same opposition of earthly and heavenly glory is made in the following passage from the Second Defence: "I considered that many had purchased a less good by a greater evil, the meed of glory by the loss of life; but that I might procure great good by little suffering; that though I am blind, I might still discharge the most honorable duties, the performance of which, as it is something more durable than glory, ought to be the object of superior admiration and esteem."

Till conqueror Death discover them
Scarce men.

The other, attained without ambition, war or violence—in men like Socrates or Job, “by deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent”—lives and grows. It was in this spirit that Milton had determined to leave “something so written to after times, as they should not willingly let die,” and that he had sought, for *Paradise Lost*, “fit audience though few,” resolved, as he was, not to seek glory “as vain men seek, oft not deserved,” yet scarcely accepting in its full strictness the judgment which classed all pursuit of earthly fame among the vanities.

III

In his view, then, of the temptations springing from men’s sensuous nature, from his instinctive desire to know all things, and from his lofty aspiration after earthly immortality—temptations, as the Middle Ages would have classed them, of the flesh and of the spirit—Milton’s saner judgment and his practical conduct are at odds with his theoretical ideal. His true philosophy is antique rather than mediæval and temperance, not asceticism, is his real principle of action. With regard to temptation in another aspect, however, there is no possibility of compromise. The danger is absolute, lying in the thing itself, and not merely in its abuse. This is the temptation of despair, the temptation to yield to impatient murmurings, and to lose confidence in one’s self and in the purposes of Providence. Milton himself is the very embodiment of a faith which stands four square against all the shocks of circumstance. So firm is he that we scarcely think of him as being subject to attack. But it is clear enough that his moral and spiritual victories were not won without a conflict. To say, for example, that when he cut short his Italian journey, thinking it “base to be traveling for amusement abroad, when his fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home,” or when he put aside his dearest aspirations to serve the Puritan cause, he did so “without much inward passion felt,” would be to be blind to his real humanity. Victories so won are no victories at all, as Milton himself affirms in the *Areopagitica*, and our sense of the moral greatness of Milton’s soul rests on the very assumption of a prolonged and heroic struggle. If this is true of his self-conquest

in other respects it is doubly true of his attainment of faith. No man ever had more compelling reasons for despair and doubt, and the conflict is everywhere implicit in his life and works. It appears in the sonnet "On his Being Arrived at the Age of Twenty-three" in the form of a slight bewilderment at the unexpectedly slow maturing of his talents, a moment of self-questioning if, after all, he had been right in expecting of himself great things. As Milton grew older this lack of confidence in his own genius was undoubtedly in large part dispelled by the facts of his actual accomplishment, the greatness of which he fully recognized, but a trace of it persists in his fear lest

an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing.
(*Paradise Lost*, IX, 44-5.)

In *Lycidas* the temptation to despondency appears again in somewhat altered form. Startled by the untimely death of a promising youth Milton turns his thoughts upon his own lofty hopes and aspirations. In the face of such a catastrophe he is troubled by the sense that all high effort is in vain:

Alas! what boots it with uncessant care
To tend the homely, slighted shepherd's trade.

Here, as elsewhere, the response of faith is immediate and firm, but the moment of doubt is not less real. The question was not asked merely to be answered. It springs from the depths of Milton's consciousness.

The coming of blindness brought to Milton a new and almost overwhelming impulse to despair, the record of which is written in the two sonnets on his blindness, in a familiar passage in *Paradise Lost* (III, 21-55) and elsewhere. Again and again does the persistent murmur rise within his heart, amounting even to a protest against the apparent injustice of God's ways with him:

"Doth God exact day labour, light denied,"
I fondly ask.

But as often does he school himself to patience and lay hold again on faith and hope. He does so, now by remembering

Those other two equalled with me in fate,
(So were I equalled with them in renown!)
Blind Thamyras and blind Mæonides,
And Tiresias and Phineus, prophets old;

or by noting how much the more heavenly light of inspiration shines inward; or by recalling that he had lost his eyesight "overplied in Liberty's defense"; or by taking to heart the sustaining thought,

They also serve who only stand and wait.

The variety of the response of faith shows how great was Milton's need of it. The failure of the Puritan cause and the isolation of his later days added immeasurably to his weight of gloom. Surely if we enquire after the great ordeal of Milton's personal experience it was this inward struggle with the Giant Despair, a foe more subtle than the flesh, more deadly than the pride of intellect or the quest for fame. It would be surprising if Milton had not embodied it in his more objective work.

He had done so repeatedly and with great distinctness. We may note first its early appearance, incidentally, in *Comus* (331-489), where the pessimism of the younger brother is met by the firm confidence of the elder, who voices Milton's faith in the security of virtue against real harm. The two characters are, after the allegorical manner of this piece, the symbols of fear and hope, as *Comus* and the Lady are of sensuality and purity. In *Paradise Lost* the moral conflict centers in the temptation of pride and passion, but after their transgression Adam and Eve fall into a deep despair, from which they must be rescued by the angelic vision, with its promise of redemption. It is not with them a sin but the inevitable consequence of sin. So also is the more hopeless despair of Satan. In the great soliloquy in Book IV of *Paradise Lost* (32-113) and elsewhere we see him engaged in an effort, rendered vain by the persistence of his pride, to throw it off. In the soliloquy of Adam in Book X (721-844), with its longing for oblivion and its questioning of divine Providence, we may perhaps see in some degree a reflection of Milton's darker hours, but the main emphasis, as I have maintained elsewhere, is certainly dramatic.

In *Paradise Regained* the trial of faith becomes essential. It constitutes, indeed, the substance of the first and third temptations, thus fulfilling the significance of the poem as the human victory over all temptation, whereby man shall regain the happier inner paradise of moral freedom promised to Adam and his descendants as the reward of their own efforts. In Milton's interpretation Satan's

"command this stone that it be made bread" is not a hunger temptation (See Book II, lines 243 ff. and A. H. Gilbert's article cited above). Milton's attention is fixed on the words "If thou be the Son of God" and on Christ's reply "Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust?" which reveal the true nature of the trial. The third temptation (IV, 500 ff.) is essentially a repetition of the first. Satan returns to the insinuation that Christ is not the son of God in any special sense,

For Son of God to me is yet in doubt,

and bids him test his belief by a rash act. But here there is the added element of futile violence—

Another method must I now begin,—

and Christ's victory is given finality by the manifestation of God's approval:

He said, and stood.

But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell. . . .
 and straight a fiery globe
 Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
 And on their plummy vans received him soft
 From his uneasy station.

Milton is, of course, following the Scriptural account with strict adherence to what he conceived to be its inner meaning, inventing the miracle on the suggestion afforded by the temptation itself: "For it is written, He shall give the angels charge over thee." But the first and third temptation, like the second, were certainly more to Milton than a mere historical encounter between Christ and Satan. R. D. Miller, writing on the temptation in *Modern Language Notes* (Vol. xv, pp. 202 ff.), seems to me utterly to mistake the import of the work. It is true that Christ is not shown to have been inwardly moved by doubt, but to say that Milton therefore shows himself blind to the spiritual significance of the Scriptural incident is absurd. In no case, except in that of Adam and Eve, who actually sin, is temptation represented in the modern way as operating within the soul. The method in *Paradise Regained* is, as it had been in *Comus*, symbolical, with this important difference, that while the Lady is an abstract representation of virtue, Christ is a man, sharing the experience of men. We must remember that for Milton, all temptation was in a

sense external, a direct suggestion of the devil. He would so interpret a conflict of conscience within himself and he so interprets the experience of Christ. He may well have believed in the physical appearance of Satan in the biblical temptation scene, but such belief does not impair the spiritual meaning of his treatment of the event in its wider application.

In the final work of his imagination Milton deals again with the temptation to distrust, which now becomes a dominant and controlling motive. *Samson Agonistes* has not ordinarily been recognized as a temptation drama. It has indeed been felt to be lacking in the essential element of dramatic conflict. This is the substance of Johnson's complaint that the play has a beginning and an end but no middle. Milton's object has been held to have been the representation in semi-epic fashion, by cumulative incident, illustration, and comment, of the character and life of Samson. The various incidents are "provocative," tending to rouse Samson from the listlessness into which he has fallen to the pitch of his last and greatest act. According to this view the true drama of Samson's life lies in the past, in his crucial experience of temptation by Delila, a sensual temptation of which mention has already been made.

To read the play, however, from this point of view alone is to miss an essential part of Milton's conception of his subject. It is not simply that the poet transfers to his hero the gloom and pathos of his own last days. He portrays him as a great man, who in the midst of failure and personal affliction, is definitely tempted to surrender his trust in Providence because of his inability to understand its dealings with himself. Samson has lived and wrought under the conviction, approved by the miracle attending his birth and by the unmistakable voice within, that he was a chosen vessel of God's purposes. Now he has fallen on evil days, and his deeds for Israel's freedom have come to nothing. The obvious conclusion is that he was wrong; but the assurance of God's favor had been too profound to be thus easily discarded. It had been his personal evidence of the care of God for his people, and that gone, his faith in Providence itself would fail. Hence, though the dealings of God with him are become dark, Samson resists to the uttermost the suggestion of distrust.

The temptation is emphasized, not only by the logic of circum-

stances, but by the insinuations of the Chorus and Manoa. They are the antagonists of the drama, however much they may come ostensibly to comfort and sustain. The Chorus first raises the point of Samson's marriages:

Why should'st thou wed Philistine women rather
Than of thine own tribe fairer or as fair?

(216-217.)

Samson's reply is an appeal to the validity of the inward voice:³

They knew not
That what I motioned was of God; I knew
From intimate impulse, and therefore urged
The marriage on.

(221-224.)

The Chorus acquiesces, but insinuates a new distrust:

In seeking just occasion to provoke
The Philistine, thy country's enemy,
Thou never wast remiss, I bear thee witness;
Yet Israel still serves with all his sons.

(237-240.)

At Samson's firm declaration that the fault rested not on him but on Israel's governors the Chorus apparently is convinced and breaks into the great ode,

Just are the ways of God,
And justifiable to men. . . .
Down, Reason, then; at least vain reasoning down.

(293 ff.)

Then comes Manoa and straightway falls to deploring "man's ever failing trust in mortal strength." His questioning of God's purposes is more explicit:

Oh, wherefore did God grant me my request,
And as a blessing with such pomp adorned?
Why are his gifts desirable, to tempt

³ Samson's "intimate impulse" corresponds with the "interior light, more precious and more pure" with which Milton felt himself to be illuminated.

So much the rather, thou, Celestial Light,
Shine inward.

So also does his sense of special consecration. Compare the Second Defence: "And, indeed, in my blindness, I enjoy in no inconsiderable degree the favour of the deity."

Our earnest prayers, then, given with solemn hand
 As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind?
 For this did the angel twice descend? for this
 Ordain thy nurture holy, as a plant
 Select and sacred? glorious for a while,
 The miracle of men; then in an hour
 Ensnared, assaulted, overcome, led bound,
 Thy foes derision, captive, poor and blind,
 Into a dungeon thrust, to work with slaves!
 Alas! methinks whom God hath chosen once
 To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,
 He should not so o'erwhelm.

(356-370.)

But Samson still rings true:

✓ Appoint not Heavenly disposition, Father
 Nothing of all these evils hath befallen me
 But justly; I myself have brought them on.

(373-5.)

Again Manoa renews the assault, this time raising the question whether the inner impulse was indeed of God:

I cannot praise thy marriage-choices, son—
 Rather approved them not; but thou did'st plead
 Divine impulsion prompting how thou might'st
 Find some occasion to infest our foes.
 I state not that; this I am sure—our foes
 Found soon occasion thereby to make thee
 Their captive and their triumph.

(420-426.)

And he reveals in the Philistine proposal to make Samson exhibit himself in honor of Dagon the depths of his degradation and failure. The circumstance intensifies Samson's misery, but only brings forth a more confident utterance of his faith. For himself he has no hope, but God will triumph over Dagon. There follows (606-651) a new outburst of wretchedness prompted by the goad of Manoa's comfort, but through all his agony Samson does not question whether God be God or doubt the evidence of his former favor.

Here, then, is the "middle" of the drama for which Johnson sought. The crisis comes at this point, technically at the end of the second act. The trial is over and Samson has emerged from it unscathed. He is soon to be rewarded for his faith by being

made the very instrument of God's triumph over Dagon. The remaining incidents in the drama are devoted to preparation for the event and to the gradual shaping of Samson's purposes toward his final act. Even the Chorus and Manoa, though they are mistaken as to the nature of God's proposed deliverance, have come to share the lofty confidence of Samson.

Go, and the Holy One
Of Israel be thy guide
To what may serve his glory best, and spread his name
Great among the Heathen round:
Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to stand
Fast by thy side.

(1427-1432.)

The play is thus the exact counterpart of *Paradise Regained*, the work to which it is most closely related in style and art, and the connection between the two poems is emphasized by their common relation to the Book of Job, which may, indeed, be said to have been in a general way Milton's model in his interpretation of the experiences both of Christ and Samson. That the book was much in Milton's thoughts at this time is evident from the references in *Paradise Regained*, where the case of Job, tempted by Satan, is repeatedly paralleled with that of Christ. The situation in *Samson Agonistes* is even more strikingly analogous with that of Job. In each the counsel of the comforters is the counsel of despair. In each their suggestions encounter an inward conviction, firmly held against the present evidence of God's disfavor. In each the hero goes through a spiritual crisis, from which, after intense suffering he comes forth with a clearer faith. In each the maintenance of this faith against all assaults is rewarded by a triumphant manifestation of God's approval.

In its relation to Milton's personal life *Samson Agonistes* is not only an embodiment of his own sorrows and an allegory of his fortunes and those of the Puritan party. It is a living representation of the assault of temptation, bred after the subtle manner of the tempter, upon the fortress of the soul. In that heroic Samson, wrestling, not alone with the outward ills of blindness and captivity, but against a subtler foe within the breast, the true Milton stand revealed, no alien figure dwelling like a star above the reach of human weakness, but a man, struggling as he had

from youth in the arena of life, "where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." The passage in the *Areopagitica* from which these words are taken gives his mature appraisal of the value of the conflict. His was no "fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed." It had met its adversary in many forms and had been purified and strengthened. The rugged steep which he had climbed was the same which he had seen, as it were, from a distance, in *Comus*, the same which the angel had pointed out to repentant Adam, the same which Christ had traveled in the wilderness, the same which Samson had ascended to the peace of soul which came to him only with his death.

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IMITATION OF SPENSER AND MILTON IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A NEW DOCUMENT

BY RONALD S. CRANE

In the history of eighteenth-century poetry a conspicuous place has long been given to the so-called Spenser and Milton revivals. Until recently, it has been very generally held that these movements represented a distinct break with the dominant taste of the first quarter of the century and, consequently, a significant step in the transition to Romanticism.¹ Within the last few years, however, a disposition has grown up to question this view, and to argue, with Professor Irving Babbitt, that

Certain tendencies in eighteenth-century England, that bulk so largely in the eyes of some critics among the causes of the English romantic movement, still have about them something that is conventional and, in the neo-classical sense, imitative. The Spenserian and Miltonian revivals, for example, led simply to new forms of poetical diction. In laying in their assortment of poetical pigments people went to Spenser and Milton instead of to Pope.²

Of these two interpretations, which is nearer the truth—that which assumes an essential kinship between poems inspired by the *Fairy Queen* or *Paradise Lost* and those imitative of Pope or the classics, or that which sees in such poems the beginnings of something revolutionary and new? To answer the question in a properly historical way would necessitate a careful study of what orthodox critics at the beginning of the century really thought of the matter. As a slight contribution to such a study, I wish to call attention to a work which, as early as 1709, brought the whole attitude underlying the Spenser and Milton revivals into close and explicit harmony with a thoroughly traditional conception of poetical imitation.

¹ Phelps, *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, Boston, 1893, pp. 15, 37, 47 ff., 87 ff., 171; Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, New York, 1899, pp. 77 ff., 146 ff.

² *The New Laokoon. An Essay on the Confusion of the Arts*, Boston, 1910, p. 27. Cf. also Cestre, *La Révolution française et les poètes anglais*, Paris, 1906, pp. 265, 302-303; H. E. Cory, "Spenser, Thomson, and Romanticism," in *P. M. L. A.*, xxvi, 1911, pp. 51-91; Odell Shepard, in *Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, xvi, 1917, p. 162.

There was published in London in 1713 a small volume bearing the title, *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style*.³ The author was Henry Felton, then rector of Whitwell in Derbyshire, later Principal of Edmund Hall, Oxford.⁴ On the titlepage the work was described as "Written in the Year 1709" (when Felton held the post of chaplain and tutor in the family of the Duke of Rutland); the preface repeated this statement and added that the manuscript was not "transcribed till the latter End of the next Summer"; at the close of the text appeared the date, "Dec. 29, 1710."⁵ Hearne, the antiquary, saw the book in May, 1713, and recorded in his diary the following comment: "'Tis a very light, foolish Performance, and shews the Author to be very vain & void of Judgment as well as Learning."⁶ Hearne, however, was scarcely fitted to appreciate such qualities as Felton possessed; between the two men there existed the same sort of temperamental antithesis as underlay the quarrel between Bentley and Temple a little over a decade before.⁷ The public at large, if we may trust the testimony of editions, took Felton somewhat more seriously than did Hearne. The *Dissertation* was reprinted five times between 1713 and 1753⁸—a fairly extensive vogue for a work of its kind.

³ According to the *D. N. B.* the date of the first edition was 1711. This date, however, is out of harmony with the testimony of Thomas Hearne, the Oxford antiquary, who had excellent means of knowing the facts of Felton's life and a certain malicious interest in recording them. In his diary for May 21, 1713 he alluded to the *Dissertation* as "Just published," and in a note added on January 8, 1715/16, he remarked that "there is just now come out a 2d Edition of this light Book." See *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, Oxford, Printed for the Oxford Historical Society, 1885-1914, iv, p. 180.

⁴ Felton was born in 1679 and died in 1740. The chief sources for his life and character are a memoir by his son prefixed to a collection of his sermons published in 1748 (the article on Felton in the *D. N. B.* is based in the main on this work), and numerous entries in the diary of Thomas Hearne (see indexes).

⁵ *Dissertation* . . . , The Third Edition, corrected, London, Printed for Jonah Bowyer, 1723, 12mo, pp. i, 274. My references throughout are to this edition. The principal changes from the edition of 1713 are indicated by Felton: see pp. i-ii, xvii, 155-156.

⁶ *Remarks and Collections*, iv, 180. Cf. *Ibid.*, ix, 63.

⁷ For Felton's opinion of Bentley and Temple see *Dissertation*, xiv-xv, 67-68, 270.

⁸ The second edition appeared late in 1715 or early in 1716 (*Remarks and*

In view of the ideas expressed in the volume, this diffusion, betokening a certain representative quality, is not without significance.

Written originally for the benefit of Felton's pupil, John Roos, afterward third Duke of Rutland, the *Dissertation* took the form of an extended but informal epistle. "I have ventured," the author remarked, "to write without any declared Order."⁹ Nevertheless, he seldom neglected to mark the transitions between his points or to label his not very frequent digressions. His plan involved five principal topics: a comparison between the Greek and Latin classics, both in their general qualities and in their particular authors and genres;¹⁰ a pronouncement as to the best methods of reading the classics;¹¹ a definition of the qualities of a "just style";¹² an analysis of the principles of imitation;¹³ and a survey of the more notable English writers, past and present.¹⁴ The whole constituted a readable if not a very profound treatise on the formation of taste and style.

At the center of the book, dominating its thinking throughout, was the idea of imitation of models. The importance which Felton attached to this doctrine is evident not only from the considerable amount of space which he devoted to it but also from various explicit statements scattered through the volume. One of the most revealing of these was his justification of his preference for Latin literature over Greek. The lack of originality in Latin writing, its prevailing imitateness, so far from constituting a weakness, seemed to him one of the conditions of its superiority. The Romans, he wrote, "have been such happy Imitators, that the Copies have proved more exact than the Originals; and *Rome* hath triumphed over *Athens*, as well in Wit, as Arms; for tho' *Greece* may have the Honour of Invention, yet 'tis easier to strike out a new Course of Thought, than to equal old Originals, and therefore it is more Honour to surpass, than to invent anew. *Verrio* is a great Man from his own Designs, but if he had attempted upon the *Cartons*, and outdone *Raphael Urbin* in Life and Colours, he had

Collections, iv, 180); the third, "corrected," in 1718 (*British Museum Catalogue*); a reprint of this, in 1723 (see note 5, above); the fourth, "with additions," in 1730 (*British Museum Catalogue*); and the fifth, in 1753 (*ibid.*).

⁹ *Dissertation*, 116.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 17-35.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 35-58.

¹² *Ibid.*, 58-131.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 132-207.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 208-274.

been acknowledged greater than that celebrated Master, but now we must think him less.”¹⁵ In a later passage, no less explicit, after defining imitation as “no more than proposing some excellent Writer for a Pattern, and endeavouring to copy his Perfections in the most distinguishing Parts of his Character,” Felton proceeded to point out that “among the *Romans*, *Horace* is the Standard of *Lyric*, and *Virgil* of *Epic* Poetry; and those Moderns who could ever flatter themselves to succeed in either, have proposed these great Masters with old *Homer* and the *Grecian Lyrics* for their Pattern. If they wrote after *Horace* and *Virgil* in *Latin*, they studied their Expression as well as Thought; if in their Native Tongue, they have formed themselves as near as possible upon those great Models.”¹⁶ Surely, faith in the salutary effects of imitation could not well be more complete.

What Felton meant by imitation he explained at length in the long passage in the *Dissertation* devoted particularly to that subject. He began by clearing out of the way a number of processes often grouped under imitation, which were not, in his opinion, properly imitation at all. He dealt thus with translation, with paraphrase, with the device of “adapting *Ancient Authors* to *Modern Times*, and making *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Persius*, &c. not only speak our Language, but know our Manners,”¹⁷ and with the kindred device of borrowing an ancient writer’s plan and thoughts for the treatment of a modern subject.¹⁸ Legitimate as most of these methods were, they were legitimate as “transcription,”¹⁹ not as imitation. The true way of imitation entailed no such “servile and mean”²⁰ copying of another. “If *Horace* himself had been called upon to add a *fifth* Book of *Odes* to the *fourth* . . . he would doubtless have *imitated* his former Pieces, and the youngest Child had carried the same Resemblance of the Father, which could be found in any of its elder Brethren: But he never would have copied from any of his old Pieces, nor fancied, that when the same Occasion offered, the same Verses, with some little Alteration, and the same Thoughts, with another Application, would have served: The Subject of the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 18. The allusion is to Antonio Verrio (1639?-1707), an Italian designer employed at the English court.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 173-174.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 177-183.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 180.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 251.

Ode might be the same, but his Method of treating it would be different: He would write indeed like himself; you should know it to be *Horace's* Production; and so far he would *imitate* himself. . . . To *imitate Horace* then, is to write as himself would have done upon the same Occasions, on which we propose him to Imitation. We must have the same Turn of Thought, the same Faculty of Expression, and in a word, the same Genius with himself."²¹

For Felton the great masters of the true imitation were the ancients. He fortified his own counsels with their theories, quoting Cicero's warning against imitating the mannerisms of writers,²² and Quintilian's declaration that "*Imitation* is not so much copying after, or trying to resemble another Author in his Conceptions and Style, as an Emulation plainly to rival him in his own Way, and to excell him where he hath most excelled."²³ He likewise multiplied examples of their practice. "*Plato* in Prose," he reminded his reader, "is the *Imitator of Homer's* Diction in Verse; not of his Poetical Fancies, but of the Copiousness, the Majesty, and Loftiness of his Style. In *Latin*, *Terence* imitated *Menander*, yet not as a *Transcriber*, or *Translator*, but so as to raise a new Fabrick with the old Materials. *Horace* hath imitated the *Grecian Lyrics*, and mixed . . . the Soft, the Amorous, the Jovial, with the Grave and Sublime. *Virgil* too, he is an *Imitator* of the *Grecians*, of *Theocritus* in his *Pastorals* . . .; but above all, he is the *Professed Imitator of Homer*, out of whose Poems he hath formed a *Third*, distinct from *either*, and more perfect than *Both*."²⁴ True imitation, in a word, consisted in doing with the Roman writers what they had done with the Greek: not translating, or paraphrasing, or transcribing them, but rivalling them in their own thoughts and expression, and telling the same story or writing upon the same theme better than they.²⁵

Flexible and even self-contradictory as this theory was in many ways, it must have seemed to those Englishmen who met with it in 1713 not only thoroughly orthodox but somewhat old-fashioned as well. There was certainly nothing new in the idea that only through the judicious imitation of ancient models could a writer attain real mastery of his art. "The third requisite in our *Poet*, or *Maker*,"

²¹ *Ibid.*, 183-185.

²² *Ibid.*, 187.

²³ *Ibid.*, 188-189.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 189-190.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 190-191.

Ben Jonson had written nearly a century before, "is *Imitation*, to bee able to convert the substance or Riches of another *Poet*, to his own use."²⁶ Sir William Davenant had been of opinion that we are inclined to imitation by Nature herself.²⁷ And Dryden, strengthening his argument with the same parallel from painting that Felton later employed, had declared that "to copy the best author, is a kind of praise, if I perform it as I ought; as a copy after Raffaele is more to be commended than an original of any indifferent painter."²⁸ Many of the earlier exponents of imitation, too, had warned quite as plainly as Felton against the servility of mere copying. Thus Ben Jonson, in the passage already quoted: "Not, to imitate servilely, as *Horace* saith, and catch at vices, for vertue, but to draw forth out of the best, and choicest flowers, with the Bee, and turne all into Honey, worke it into one relish, and savour: make our *Imitation* sweet: observe, how the best writers have imitated, and follow them. How *Vergil*, and *Statius* have imitated *Homer*: how *Horace*, *Archilochus*; how *Alcoeus*, and the other *Liricks*: and so of the rest."²⁹ At the time Felton wrote and published his *Dissertation*, and in the years immediately following, this traditional conception of imitation was receiving brilliant support from the example and precept of Alexander Pope.³⁰

²⁶ *Timber: or, Discoveries* (1641), ed. Maurice Castelain, Paris, 1907, p. 125.

²⁷ *Preface to Gondibert* (1650), in Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1908, II, pp. 7, 8.

²⁸ *A Parallel of Poetry and Painting* (1695), in *Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, XVII, 316. See also the preface to *Albion and Albanus* (1685), *ed. cit.*, VII, 229-230.

²⁹ *Timber*, *ed. cit.*, p. 125. Cf. also Dryden, *Dedication of the Aeneis* (1697): "And thus I might imitate Virgil, if I were capable of writing a heroic poem, and yet the invention be my own: but I should endeavour to avoid a servile copying" (*Works*, *ed. cit.*, XIV, 189).

³⁰ The principal texts showing what Pope thought of imitation are as follows: a letter to Walsh, July 2, 1706 (*Works*, ed. Elwin-Courthope, VI, 52); *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry* (wr. c. 1706; pr. 1717); *Essay on Criticism* (1711); Preface to the 1717 edition of the *Works* (Elwin-Courthope, I, 9); *The Art of Sinking in Poetry* (1728), ch. ix. Pope's imitativeness was a favorite theme of his critics. See, for example, Dennis, *A True Character of Mr. Pope* (1716), pp. 6-7; *Daily Journal*, April 5, 1718, reprinted in *A Collection . . . occasioned by . . . the Miscellanies* (1728), pp. 24, 25; *The Ourliad* (1729), pp. 12-13; Gerard, *Epistle to the Egregious Mr. Pope* (1734), p. 8. I owe these and other references to my friend Dr. George

Already, however, a new view, destined in the course of the century to supplant the old Renaissance orthodoxy, had begun to find disciples. This is not the place to describe in detail the reaction against imitation which, beginning very early in the century, spread gradually during the next fifty years, and found powerful champions shortly after 1750 in Johnson and Young.³¹ None of these opponents of imitation had any desire to weaken the authority of classic taste. Young, indeed, proclaimed his reverence for ancient literature in the very act of deprecating imitation of it. "Let not Assertors of Classic Excellence," he wrote in his *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759), "imagine, that I deny the Tribute it so well deserves. He that admires not antient Authors, betrays a secret he would conceal, and tells the world, that he does not understand them. Let us be as far from neglecting, as from copying, their admirable Compositions: Sacred be their Rights, and inviolable their Fame. . . . Let us build our Compositions with the Spirit, and in the Taste, of the Antients; not with their Materials: Thus will they resemble the structures of *Pericles at Athens*, which *Plutarch* commends for having had an air of Antiquity as soon as they were built."³² What, in fact, men like Young and

Sherburn of the University of Chicago, who is preparing a study of Pope's reputation before 1756.

³¹ The list which follows is designed not as a complete bibliography of the movement but merely as evidence of its strength and importance: Addison in *Spectator*, No. 160, Sept. 3, 1711; Joseph Trapp, *Praelectiones Poeticae* (1711-1715), third ed., 1736, II, 317-318; Leonard Welsted, *A Dissertation concerning the Perfection of the English Language, the State of Poetry, &c.* (1724), in Durham, *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven, 1915, pp. 377-378; Edward Young, "On Lyrick Poetry," in *Ocean. An Ode . . . To which is prefix'd, An Ode to the King: And a Discourse on Ode* (1728); Thomas Blackwell, *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (1735), pp. 29-34; William Melmoth, *The Letters of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne on Several Subjects* (1742), Letters v, LVII; Johnson, in *Rambler*, No. 121, May 14, 1751; Lloyd, in *The Connoisseur*, No. 67, May 8, 1755; John Armstrong, *Sketches or Essays on Various Subjects, By Launcelot Temple* (1758), second edition, 1758, pp. 45-46; Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759). A certain antipathy to imitation as such no doubt underlay some of the strictures on Pope's imitativness listed in note 30 above.

³² *Conjectures*, ed. Brandl, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXIX, 1903, p. 21. Cf. "On Lyrick Poetry" (1728): "Nor is what I say at all inconsistent with a due deference for the great Standards of Antiquity; nay, that very

Johnson sought to effect was not a supplanting in any degree of the established classical taste, but a revivification of that taste through the cultivation of a sane originality. In pursuance of this ideal they condemned imitation of models wherever they found it, no less emphatically when its object was Milton or Spenser than when it was Virgil or Pope.³³

Compared with these men, Felton clearly occupied a conservative position. His was the stricter creed of the seventeenth century.³⁴ It is, therefore, all the more noteworthy that among the writers whom he recommended to his pupil as worthy of imitation, not the least prominent place fell to Spenser and Milton.

Felton devoted the last sixty pages of his epistle to an appreciation of the great English writers of his own and the preceding century.³⁵ The relation which he conceived to exist between this survey and his program of imitation he set forth in a page of transition immediately following his remarks on style:

To treat of a true Taste in a formal Method, would be very insipid; it is best collected from the Beauties and Laws of Writing, and must rise from every Man's own Apprehensions and Notion of what he heareth and readeth.

It may be therefore of farther Use, and most Advantage to Your Lordship, as well as a Relief and Entertainment to refresh Your Spirits in the End of a tedious Discourse, if besides mentioning the Classic Authors as they fall in my Way, I lay before You some of the correctest Writers of

deference is an argument for it, for doubtless their *Example* is on my side in this matter. And we should rather imitate their example in the general *motives*, and fundamental *methods* of their working, than in their *works* themselves" (*Ocean. An Ode*, p. 27).

³³ Cf. Johnson's remarks in *The Rambler*, No. 121, and in *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Hill, 1905, III, pp. 332-333; and Lloyd's poem in *The Connoisseur*, No. 67.

³⁴ His conservatism appeared in other matters than his conception of imitation: in his remarks on education (pp. 7-10); in his preference of the Latin to the Greek classics (pp. 18 ff.); in his notion of taste as an essentially aristocratic growth (pp. 59-68); in his admiration for Cowley (pp. 31, 168-169) and for the poets of the school of Waller, Dryden, and Pope (pp. xi-xii, 154, 156-157, 254-255, 259-264); in his adherence to the party of Sir William Temple in the debate of the Ancients and Moderns (pp. 270-271).

³⁵ The list included Addison, Bacon, Chaucer, Clarendon, Congreve, Cowley, Daniel (as a historian), Denham, Dryden, Herbert of Cherbury, Hooker, Jonson, Milton, Otway, John Phillips, Pope, Prior, Raleigh, Rowe, Shakespeare, Sidney, Spenser, Steele, Suckling, Tillotson, Waller.

this Age and the last, in several Faculties upon different Subjects: Not that Your Lordship should be drawn into a servile Imitation of any of them, but that You may see into the Spirit, Force, and Beauty of them all, and form Your Pen from those general Notions of Life and Delicacy, of Fine Thoughts and Happy Words, which rise to Your Mind upon reading the great Masters of Style in their several Ways, and Manner of Excelling.

I must beg leave, therefore, to deferr a little the Entertainment I promised, while I endeavour to lead Your Lordship into the true Way of *Imitation*, if ever You shall propose any Original for Your Copy; or, which is infinitely preferable, into a perfect Mastery of the Spirit and Perfections of every Celebrated Writer, whether Ancient or Modern.²⁸

Felton, in short, while cautioning his reader in the usual manner against imitating servilely and indiscriminately, plainly meant to couple the English writers with the Greek and Roman as proper models for the true imitation. Interpreted in this way, his comments on Spenser and Milton, unoriginal as they were in themselves, possess a greater significance than attaches to most similar passages of the same date.²⁷

The appreciation of Spenser was none the less hearty for being brief: "His antique Verse has Music in it to ravish any Ears, that can be sensible of the softest, sweetest Numbers, that ever flowed from a Poet's Pen."²⁸ As a pastoral poet he was the peer of Theocritus; and, Virgil-worshipper that Felton was, he preferred the *Shepherd's Calender* to the *Eclogues*.²⁹ It was perhaps from Spenser that he acquired a taste for the older English language that

²⁸ *Dissertation*, pp. 131-133.

²⁹ A great many such passages have recently been made accessible. See (for Spenser) H. E. Cory, *The Critics of Edmund Spenser*, Berkeley, 1911, chs. iv, v; and (for Milton) R. D. Havens, "Seventeenth-century notices of Milton" and "The early reputation of *Paradise Lost*," in *Englische Studien*, bd. 40, 1909, pp. 175-186, 187-199, and J. W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition*, University of Illinois Studies, 1915. An interesting contemporary parallel to Felton's general position is Prior's simultaneous recommendation of Horace and Spenser "to the Consideration and Study of Those, who design to Excel in Poetry" (Preface to *An Ode, Humbly Inscrib'd to the Queen* . . . , 1706).

³⁰ *Dissertation*, 256. On the significance of this praise of Spenser's "Numbers" see Cory, *The Critics of Edmund Spenser*, pp. 115, 122, 144.

³¹ *Dissertation*, 269. Comparisons of the pastorals of Spenser and Virgil were frequent in the criticism of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (see Cory, *The Critics of Edmund Spenser*, pp. 120, 132, 135, 140); few of them were as favorable to Spenser as this of Felton's.

made him, in speaking of style, advise the poet rather to "revive old Words, than create new ones."⁴⁰

Felton had rather more to say of Milton than he did of Spenser. His general estimate, based exclusively upon *Paradise Lost*, placed the English poet above both Homer and Virgil, the first of whom he excelled in "Force and Richness of Imagination"; the second, in "justness of Thought, and exactness of the Work."⁴¹ The cause of this superiority lay partly, to be sure, in Milton's genius, but much more in his constant traffic with the Scriptures. They were "the Fountain from which he derived his Light; the Sacred Treasure that enriched his Fancy, and furnished him with all the Truth and Wonders of God and His Creation, of Angels and Men, which no mortal Brain was able either to discover or conceive." They brought it to pass that in him alone, "of all human Writers, You will meet all his Sentiments and Words raised and suited to the Greatness and Dignity of the Subject."⁴² But it was not in substance alone that Milton outranked other poets. Felton had no doubts concerning the merits of Milton's style or of his blank verse, and it is to be noted that in the same connection he found something to commend in one of the first of the eighteenth-century imitators of the Miltonic manner, John Philips. "Milton," the passage ran, "is the Assertor of Poetic Liberty, and would have freed us from the Bondage of Rhime, but like Sinners, and like Lovers, we hug our Chain, and are pleased in being Slaves. Some indeed have made some faint Attempts to break it, but their Verse had all the Softness and Effeminacy of Rhime without the Music:"⁴³ And

* *Dissertation*, 90. An earlier passage is even more emphatic: "There is a vast Treasure, an inexhaustible Fund in the old *English*, from whence Authors may draw constant Supplies, as our Officers make their surest Recruits from the Coal-Works and the Mines. The Weight, the Strength, and Significance of many antiquated Words, should recommend them to Use again. 'Tis only wiping off the Rust they have contracted, and separating them from the Dross they lie mingled with, and both in Value and Beauty they will rise above the Standard, rather than fall below it" (*ibid.*, 88-89). Though contemporary opinion was divided on the question of antiquated diction, Felton's outspoken hospitality had few parallels. See for examples of a liberalism approaching his, Durham, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 232, 344, and *Spectator*, No. 540, Nov. 19, 1712.

⁴⁰ *Dissertation*, 269.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 113-114.

⁴² For a list of experiments in blank verse between 1685 and 1709, see Havens, *Englische Studien*, bd. 40, 195 n.

Dryden himself, who sometimes struggled to get loose, always relapsed, and was faster bound than ever; but Rhime was his Province, and he could make the Tinkling of his Chains harmonious. *Mr. Philips* hath trod the nearest in his great Master's Steps, and hath equalled him in his Verse more than he falleth below him in the Compass and Dignity of his Subject. *The Shilling* is truly *Splendid* in his Lines, and his Poems will live longer than the unfinished Castle, as long as *Blenheim* is remembered, or *Cyder* drunk in *England*.⁴⁴ But I have digressed from Milton, and that I may return, and say all in a Word: His Style, His Thoughts, his Verse are as superiour to the Generality of other Poets, as his Subject. His Disloyalty alone throws a Cloud upon his Glory, and we stand amazed to think that Man could ever be a Rebel, who had seen, as it were, and described, in all the Pomp of Terror, the Rebellion and Punishment of the Apostate Angels."⁴⁵

It remains to indicate briefly the bearing of Felton's general position upon the question raised at the beginning of this article. To assume that he expressed the point of view either of all conservative critics of his day with regard to the imitation of Spenser and Milton, or of all eighteenth-century imitators of these poets with regard to the theory underlying their practice, would of course

⁴⁴The allusions are to *The Splendid Shilling* (1705), *Blenheim. A Poem* (1705), and *Cyder. A Poem* (1708).

⁴⁵*Dissertation*, 257-259. The attitude toward blank verse expressed in this passage was fairly common at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Within the decade preceding the publication of Felton's book, essentially similar views found utterance in John Dennis's Preface to his *Britannia Triumphans* (1704), in Isaac Watts' *The Adventurous Muse* (1706) and the preface to the 1709 edition of his *Horae Lyricae*, in Edmund Smith's *A Poem to the Memory of Mr. John Philips* (c. 1709), and in Shaftesbury's *Soliloquy: or, Advice to an Author* (1710), II, i, and *Miscellaneous Reflections* (1711), v, i. The existence of this current of opinion—to say nothing of the preference for blank verse shown during the same years by poets like Watts, Philips, and Dennis—is clear evidence that later rejection of the couplet constituted by no means such a heresy as has been supposed (e. g., by Phelps, *op. cit.*, 37). A careful study of the whole question would show, I think, that the eighteenth-century movement in favor of blank verse, far from being a new development, was in the main an outgrowth of the agitation of the preceding half-century, the chief stimuli of which were Milton's prefatory note to *Paradise Lost* (1667) and the Earl of Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse* (1684, 1685).

be altogether unwarranted. Doubtless many of the former hesitated to admit imitation of the moderns to the same place of privilege as imitation of the ancients,⁴⁶ just as many of the latter undoubtedly had less reverence than Felton for the Romans, or for those poets of his own time who wrote in the spirit of the Romans. The day has passed for all such wholesale generalizing about the eighteenth century. On the other hand, it is perfectly reasonable to infer that Felton did not stand entirely alone in his views, and that the essentially neo-classical background of his admiration for the two great English poets of the past age characterized also the attitude of others.⁴⁷ At any rate, without denying that much eighteenth-century imitation of Spenser and Milton proceeded from other motives than those comprised in the Renaissance dogma of imitation, we may well hesitate before we read a reactionary meaning into the "revivals" as a whole.

* "Critics seem agreed," wrote Joseph Warton (*The Adventurer*, No. 63, June 12, 1753), "in giving greater latitude to the imitation of the ancients than of later writers."

"It certainly characterized that of Joseph Warton, whose *Enthusiast* (1744) and *Ode to Fancy* (1746) are usually regarded as important events in the development of eighteenth-century Miltonic imitation (Phelps calls the former "one of the most important poems in the Romantic movement" —*op. cit.*, 90). Warton's views on imitation may be gathered from a paper in *The Adventurer* (No. 89, Sept. 11, 1753), from a short passage in the *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (1756), fifth edition, 1806, I, 94-96, and from a note on Pope's Preface of 1717 in his edition of Pope (1797). The last text is particularly interesting, as it reveals him in the rôle of critic of Young. After citing Young's arraignment of imitation from the *Conjectures*, he commented as follows: "It might, perhaps, have been replied to Young; you indeed, have given us a considerable number of original thoughts in your works, but they would have been more chaste and correct if you had imitated the ancients more" (quoted in *The Works of Pope*, ed. Bowles, I, 1806, 8 n.). In short, as between the points of view represented by Young and by Felton respectively, Warton clearly leaned to the latter. Whatever may be said of his poetry in other regards, the æsthetic principles upon which it was based were unmistakably neo-classical.

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RECENT LITERATURE

I. THE DRAMA

Adams, Joseph Quincy. The Conventual Buildings of Blackfriar's, London, and the Playhouses Constructed Therein. *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 64.

Adams, Joseph Quincy. *Shakespearean Playhouses: A History of English Theatres from the Beginnings to the Restoration*. pp. 473. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company.

This is the most important book of the year in the field of Elizabethan scholarship. It not only brings down to date and presents in convenient form the results of the investigations of recent years, but also adds much new information upon the subject. How great a debt all students of the Elizabethan drama owe to Professor Adams is indicated by the fact that Ordish's *Early London Theatres*, long out of date but the most considerable predecessor of the present volume, dealt with only six theatres, while this book discusses the history of seventeen regular and five temporary houses. The book is printed in a form worthy of its importance, and contains a large number of illustrations and diagrams. One other noteworthy feature is the very complete bibliography. The work is an example of American scholarship of high worth, and will at once become the chief authority in its field.

Considering the immense number of facts with which the book deals; the sources of these facts in records of litigation, legal documents, and the like; and the necessary exclusion of much material that renders accounts of acting and the production of plays so fascinating, Professor Adams's story is surprisingly interesting. The author has searched for references to theatres in the plays and in non-dramatic literature, and has greatly increased the number of items heretofore collected. Buildings of all sorts,—rooms for singing schools, rose-garden houses, disused monasteries, were converted into playhouses, while the buildings put up constantly increased in size and attractiveness. Shakespeare's connection with the Theatre and the Globe, Lyly's connection with the first Blackfriars, Henslow's "Rose," the first appearance of French companies, "little" theatres,—these are some of the interesting topics with which the book deals. The constant struggle between theatres and the Puritans on the one hand and the city authorities and the Privy Council on the other; the severe restrictions placed on amusement houses and actors; the eagerness with which business men like Burbage and Henslowe planned, for commercial reasons, to gratify the hunger for stage-plays,—all gain new distinctness from Mr. Adams's story, as by-products of his careful reconstruction of sites, building plans, and everything pertaining to the physical housing of the great literature

that we know as the Elizabethan drama. Too often the student of drama forgets that plays are written to be acted; this book will help him to visualize his study.

- Daw, E. Beatrice. "Love Fayned and Unfayned" and the English Anabaptists. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S. xxv, 267.
- Daw, E. Beatrice. Two Notes on "The Trial of Treasure." *Modern Philology*, xv, 53.
- Dunn, Esther C. John Rastell and "Gentleness and Nobility." *Modern Language Review*, xii, 266.
- Hooper, Edith S. The Text of Ben Jonson. *Modern Language Review*, xii, 350.
- Hubbard, F. G. A Type of Blank Verse Line Found in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S. xxv, 68.
- Graves, Thornton Shirley. "Playeng in the Dark" During the Elizabethan Period. *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 88.
- Lawrence, W. J. The Mystery of Lodowick Barry. *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 52.
- Lawrence, W. J. The Elizabethan Stage Throne. *Texas Review*, iii, 93.
- Lemmi, Charles W. "Tamburlane" and Greene's "Orlando Furioso." *Modern Language Notes*, xxxii, 434.
- Martin, Robert G. Notes on Thomas Heywood's "Ages." *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 23.
- Parry, John J. A New Version of Randolph's "Aristippus." *Modern Language Notes*, xxxii, 351.
- Selin, William Edward (ed.). "The Case is Altered," by Ben Jonson. Yale Studies in English, xvi. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Smith, Rupert Metcalf. *Froissart and the English Chronicle Play*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Strunk, W., Jr. The Elizabethan Showman's Ape. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxii, 215.
- Sykes, H. Dugdale. The Authorship of "A Yorkshire Tragedy." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xvi, 437.
- Tupper, Frederick. The Envy Theme in Prologues and Epilogues. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xvi, 551.
- Withington, Robert. The Lord Mayor's Show for 1590. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 8.

II. SHAKESPEARE

- Beeching, H. C. *The Character of Shakespeare*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Blackmore, Simon A. *The Riddles of Hamlet and the Newest Answers*. Boston, The Stratford Company.
- Brereton, J. Le Gay. Shakespeare's Wild Irishman. *Modern Language Review*, XII, 350.
- Brooke, Tucker. The Shakespeare Tercentenary. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XI, 123.
- Brooke, Tucker. Hamlet's Third Soliloquy. *Studies in Philology*, XIV, 117.
- Brooke, Tucker. The Romantic Iago. *Yale Review*, January, 1918.
- Carpenter, B. Frank. Shakespeare's Sonnets: To Whom Dedicated? *Catholic World*, January, 1918.
- Charlton, H. B. A Disputed Passage in "Love's Labour's Lost." *Modern Language Review*, XII, 279.
- Cosentino, G. *Il Teatro di Shakespeare: Studio*. Bologna, L. Capelli.
- Crawford, Alexander W. *Hamlet, An Ideal Prince and Other Essays in Shakespearean Interpretation*. Boston, Richard G. Badger.
- Croll, M. W. An Emendation for 1 Henry IV, II, 4. *Nation*, 104: 212.
- Crosse, Gordon. The Real Shakespeare Problem. *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1917.
- D'Alfonso, N. R. *Guglielmo Shakespeare attore e autore*. Roma.
- Ditchfield, P. H. *The England of Shakespeare*. pp. 315. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co.

A pleasantly written volume of no great depth or learning, useful, however, for the general reader, for high school pupils as a supplement to their Shakespeare studies, and for all who have not the time for the larger volumes on the subject. There are interesting chapters on such subjects as "London," "Shakespeare's Home," "Roads and Travellers," "Sport and Pastime," and many others. The best chapters are those on "The Country around Stratford," "Shakespeare's Journey to London," and "The Court." The chapters on "Literature" and on "Plays and Players" are least satisfactory, partly because the subjects are too broad for the summary treatment of a small book, unless a writer possesses unusual gifts of condensation; partly because of inaccu-

racies. Such statements as those that the last "three" books of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* were lost in the Irish rebellion, and that Jonson's *Sejanus* and *Catiline* are "worthless," are illustrations. On the other hand, the account in the introductory chapter of Shakespeare's love of England and the patriotic feeling that runs through his plays is well done. The book is pleasant to hold and to read. There are also many interesting pictures.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, J. *Cervantes and Shakespeare*. London and New York, Oxford University Press.

Gayley, Charles Mills. *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*. pp. 270. New York, The Macmillan Company.

The author first shows that Shakespeare must have known a number of the members of the Virginia Company and that he was connected through common friendships or through testimonies of appreciation of his plays, with others. Next, the *Tempest* is indebted for many details to a letter from William Strachey to an "Excellent Lady" in England, sent in July of 1610 through Sir Thomas Gates. This letter, which was not published until 1625, Shakespeare could only have seen if he was rather intimately connected with some of the Virginia Company, since it was jealously guarded from printers. From it Shakespeare got details about the storm; what is more important, he got material for the criticism of communism and extreme democracy that we find in the *Tempest*, a reflection of the evils that his friends in the Council were at that time trying to correct in their colony.

After a sketch of the career of Sir Edwin Sandys in its relation to Virginia, Professor Gayley gives an outline of Hooker's philosophy and its influence, first on Sandys and others interested in Virginia and second on later thinkers, Locke, for example, who in turn influenced American political thought in the Revolutionary period. There is next an outline of Shakespeare's views of the individual in relation to the State, based chiefly on the history plays, followed by an elaborate discussion of the parallels between Hooker's thought—on "degree" for example—and Shakespeare's. Professor Gayley is duly cautious; he does not insist that the *Troilus* passage is from the *Ecclesiastical Polity* in the face of the numerous other parallels that have been unearthed. His argument, which is very persuasively put, is that "the Shakespeare who was acquainted with several of the founders of colonial liberty in America was also intimately acquainted with the philosophy which their wisest entertained; that he was not only sympathetic with their purposes, but of like mind with the master to whom they were indebted for their political principles." (P. 189.)

The remaining chapters deal with the common heritage of England, France, and America and with the meaning of it all for us today. These chapters are eloquently written, and whether one accept or reject the details of Professor Gayley's argument about Shakespeare's relation to American foundations, his book will quicken American and

English sympathies, and will correct much of the foolish and wicked prejudice against England that lingers here and is fanned by much of our elementary teaching of American history. It will bring home to us, in a new way, that Shakespeare is ours, that those who speak his tongue, wheresoever on earth they dwell and whatever outward forms of government they keep, must be free or die. For these reasons, if for no others, teachers should read this book, particularly teachers of English and history in secondary schools. With Professor Dacey's book on *The Statesmanship of Wordsworth* and Professor de Selincourt's *English Poets and the National Ideal*, this book is an interesting illustration of the growing perception that the study of literature may contribute to good citizenship in a way hitherto unguessed.

- Greenwood, Sir George. *Sir Sidney Lee's New Edition of a Life of William Shakespeare*. New York, John Lane Company.
- Gray, Henry D. The Purport of Shakespeare's Contribution to "1 Henry VI." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S. xxv, 367.
- Gray, Henry D. Antony's Amazing "I will to Egypt." *Modern Philology*, xv, 43.
- Greg, W. W. Hamlet's Hallucination. *Modern Language Review*, xii, 393.
- Hickey, Emily. The Play of Julius Cæsar. *Catholic World*, November, 1917, 216.
- House, Roy Temple. Wolsey and Blondel de Nesle. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxii, 441.
- Hubbard, F. G. The "Marcellus" Theory of the First Quarto "Hamlet." *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 73.
- Hubbard, F. G. Romeo and Juliet, II, iv, 219-227. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 182.
- Johnstone, Julian E. The Classical Element in Shakespeare. *Catholic World*, October, 1917.
- Manly, John Matthews. Cuts and Insertions in Shakespeare's Plays. *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 123.
- Mæriot, J. A. K. English History in Shakespeare's "Richard II." *Fortnightly Review*, CI (N. S.), 683.
- Nulli, S. A. *Shakespeare in Italia*. Milano, Hoepli.
- Pollard, A. W. *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of his Text*. London, Alex. Moring.

Argues that the Quartos entered in the Stationer's Register came directly from Shakespeare's company and are authoritative sources for texts for these plays.

Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur. *Shakespeare's Workmanship*. pp. 338. New York; Holt.

A series of "familiar discourses" taken from lectures at the University of Cambridge. The author's purpose is "to discover, in some of Shakespeare's plays, just what he was trying to do as a playwright." Thus the book resembles, in aim at least, Professor Baker's *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, and Professor Wendell's *William Shakespeare*. The most vital of the essays are those on *Macbeth*, on "The Story of Falstaff" on *Hamlet*, and on *The Tempest*. There is much good-humored criticism of the impedimenta of Shakespearean scholarship,—one finds some specially readable examples of German criticism. Little is said of "sources" and other materials for research, though the story of Peter Cunningham and his relation to the controversy about the date of *The Tempest* is told in great detail. The point of view is the modern one,—that Shakespeare was writing for a definite public, and if the box-office does not figure as prominently as the ultimate source of Shakespeare's activities as it does in some of the books on the dramatist written by modern "practical" men without illusions, the distrust of the philosophical critic is almost as marked as that of the dissertation-maker.

Despite the author's enthusiasm for *The Tempest*, it seems to the present reviewer that on *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* he writes with most vigor and charm. The criticism on *Macbeth*, broken into three essays, is itself dramatic, with a "strong curtain" at the end of chapters one and two and an excellent peroration. Though they were designed for a university audience, it would be a fine thing if these chapters on a play read in all secondary schools were made available for boys and girls. The three chapters on *Hamlet* are less compelling in style, but they present persuasively the idea that "it is we who are Hamlet"; a view which disposes of the Hamlet "problem" for those whom it satisfies. It is an excellent thing to have these protests against philosophical splitting of hairs, even though the author fights manfully against some ghosts long dead.

The book is lively, witty, urbane. It is "popular" without being superficial. For the general reader or for the student who is not looking for "authorities" it affords a stimulating introduction to Shakespeare-land.

Rollins, Hyder E. *The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare*. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S., xxv, 383.

Robertson, J. M. *Shakespeare and Chapman*. London, Fisher, Unwin and Company.

Ruud, Martin B. *An Essay Toward a History of Shakespeare in Norway*. *Publications of Society for Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, iv.

Shackford, Martha Hall. Rose in Shakespeare's Sonnets. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 122.

A Memorial Volume to Shakespeare and Harvey. *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 1701, Austin.

Smith, D. Nicol. *Shakespeare Criticism. A Selection with an Introduction*, pp. 416. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

One of the most useful volumes in the admirable "World's Classics." There has long been need for an inexpensive collection of essays that should represent the history of Shakespeare criticism. This volume fills the need admirably. The selections extend from Ben Jonson to Carlyle, including such important items as Dryden, Phillips, Rowe, Addison, Steele, Pope, Gray, Warton, Lord Kames, Johnson, Morgann, Lamb, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Jeffrey, DeQuincey, and Landor.

Sullivan, Sir Edward. Shakespeare and Italy. *Nineteenth Century*, 491-492 (Jan.-Feb., 1918).

Tannerbaum, Samuel A. Hamlet Prepares for Action. *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 237.

Tilley, M. P. Shakespeare and Italian Geography. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xvi, 454.

III. SPENSER

Cory, Herbert Ellsworth. *Edmund Spenser: A Critical Study*. pp. 478. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, v.

Professor Cory describes his book as "an attempt to come to certain conclusions about Spenser only on the basis of a vast number of experiences of other readers of Spenser in every decade from 1579 to 1917." Through such "collective criticism" he hopes to avoid "irresponsible impressionism" and show that his own critical judgments "have grown with a logical and almost biological continuity from many early interpretations." The book is therefore of interest as an attempt at critical appraisal of a great poet. For students of the Renaissance it has high value in that it gives more completely than can be found elsewhere a summary of the notable additions made in recent years to our knowledge of Spenser's life and poetical activity. Furthermore, it summarizes the results of Professor Cory's own researches in the history of Spenser's fame from the seventeenth century on, which hitherto have been accessible only in scattered monographs.

The book furnishes a systematic review of the entire corpus of Spenser's poetry, with copious extracts that make an admirable introduction to the many sides of his genius. These quotations, chosen with

excellent judgment, are connected by comments on subject matter and criticism, so that the general reader who wishes merely to trace the development of Spenser's art and thought is profited even more than the specialist. This comment is often prolix and indiscriminating, but it is written with infectious enthusiasm. There are many excellent things, such as the characterization of Britomart, especially her entry into the Malbecco-Paridell-Hellenore group; or the defence of Spenser's allegory; or the appreciation of the fine passage in *Colin Court* in which Colin defends Rosalind. Professor Cory's interpretation of the *Faerie Queene* as an epic that was to "make history," not merely to celebrate heroic deeds of the past, and his conception that the last books break down, in part, because the dream was fading into disillusion, form his own most considerable contribution to Spenser criticism apart from the study of the poet's fame already mentioned. The first part of his conception of the epic is unquestionably right; the second depends upon the interpretation to be put on "disillusion." Professor Cory seems to follow Dowden's study of Shakespeare—a period to be called "In the Depths" followed by a final reconciliation with life. That Spenser, like most men, lost in maturity many of the illusions of youth cannot be doubted. But the particular definition that Dr. Cory gives the word, and with it the soundness of his views about Books IV-VI, depends, for its acceptance, on how far we are willing to stress the idea, long a commonplace so far as the identification is concerned, that the poem was projected in large part to celebrate the hoped-for union between Leicester and the Queen.

All lovers of the poet will be grateful for this leisurely and charming volume. It is a pity that there is no index, and that the author does not supply, what he might easily have supplied, a bibliography of the very large number of books and essays cited. There is great need for a thoroughly comprehensive bibliography of Spenser. The little book by Professor Carpenter, who did so much to inaugurate the Spenser renaissance of recent years, is now long out of print, and the bibliography to the Spenser essay in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, though comparatively recent, is grossly inadequate even for the year when it was published. Dr. Cory would render a great service if he would prepare such a guide to Spenser.

Emerson, Oliver Farrar. Spenser's "Virgils Gnat." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xvii, 92.

Emerson, Oliver Farrar. A new Word in an Old Poet. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxii, 250.

Emerson, Oliver Farrar. Spenser, Lady Carey, and the Complaints Volume. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S., xxv, 306.

Fletcher, Jefferson B. The Painter of the Poets. *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 153.

- Gough, Alfred B. Who Was Spenser's Bon Font? *Modern Language Review*, XII, 140.
- Osgood, Charles G. Spenser's Sapience. *Studies in Philology*, XIV, 167.
- Padelford, F. M. The Women in Spenser's Allegory of Love. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XVI, 70.
- Patch, Howard R. Notes on Spenser and Chaucer. *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII, 177.
- Tolman, Albert H. The Relation of Spenser and Harvey to Puritanism. *Modern Philology*, XV, 549.

IV. OTHER WRITERS AND WORKS

- Briggs, William D. The Birth-date of Ben Jonson. *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII, 137.
- Briggs, William D. Source-Material for Jonson's "Underwoods" and Miscellaneous Poems. *Modern Philology*, XV, 277.
- Dunbabin, R. L. Notes on Skelton. *Modern Language Review*, XII, 129 and 257.
- Hadow, G. E. (ed.) *Sir Walter Raleigh: Selections from his History of the World, Letters, etc.* pp. 212. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Besides the well-known "Last Fight of the Revenge," the "Relation of Cadiz Action," and the letters to his wife, this volume contains one or two other letters and a considerable body of extracts from the *Historie of the World*. Some of these historical extracts have the special merit of showing Raleigh's interest in Sea Power,—“Concerning the Defence of Hard Passages,” “The Art of War at Sea,” “Concerning Naval Transport,” and “The Battle of Salamis,” for example, so that the book as a whole is filled with suggestions of the chief interests of the man who in Spenser's phrase was Elizabeth's “Shepherd of the Ocean.” Furthermore, the selections illustrate admirably the use and simplicity of Raleigh's narrative style, with its gravity and solemn splendor. The chief omissions are selections from his poems, and selections from the brief essay-like memoranda, suggesting Bacon, that form an interesting but little-known part of the life record that he left in print.

The editor supplies a brief but admirable introduction which brings out not only the dramatic interest in Raleigh's life, but also the relation of his activities and his thought to the Renaissance. This book, with Professor Hersey's somewhat similar book published last year, should prove of interest during this tercentenary of Raleigh's death, for he

was a man who had much to do with making the England that in his time and in ours found its chief enemy in a cruel and ambitious monarch who aspired to world dominion.

Parry, John J. *The Poems and Amyntas of Thomas Randolph*. New Haven, University Press.

Rollins, Hyder E. New Facts about George Turbervill. *Modern Philology*, xv, 513.

Stratton, Clarence. The Italian Lyrics of Sidney's *Arcadia*. *Sewanee Review*, July, 1917.

V. MILTON

Baldwin, Edward C. A Note on "Il Penseroso." *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 184.

Baldwin, Edward C. An Instance of Milton's Debt to the Greek Philosophers. *Classical Weekly*, xi, 121.

Darnall, F. M. Milton and Diodati. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 377.

Day, Mabel. Milton's "Il Penseroso" ll. 17, 18. *Modern Language Review*, xii, 496.

Erskine, John. The Theme of Death in "Paradise Lost." *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S., xxv, 573.

Greenlaw, Edwin. "A Better Teacher than Aquinas." *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 196.

Hanford, James Holly. The Dramatic Element in "Paradise Lost." *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 178.

Loomis, R. S. A Note on the "Areopagitica." *Modern Language Notes*, xxxii, 437.

Thompson, Elbert N. S. A Forerunner of Milton. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxii, 479.

Webb, William A. Milton's Views on Education. *Educational Review*, lv, 137.

VI. HISTORY AND CRITICISM

Adams, Eleanor N. *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Alden, Raymond Macdonald. The Lyrical Conceit of the Elizabethans. *Studies in Philology*, xiv, 130.

- Brooke, Tucker. Elizabethan Plagiarism (?): A Bit of Unappropriated Verse. *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiii, 56.
- Ditchfield, P. H. *The England of Shakespeare*. New York, Dutton.
- Greenlaw, Edwin. "The Renaissance." [In *A Syllabus of National Ideals in British and American Literature*, pp. 8-26; published by the University of North Carolina.]
- Hubbard, F. G. A Type of Blank Verse Line Found in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S. xxv, 68.
- Lucas, Sir C. P. *The Beginnings of English Overseas Enterprise: a Prelude to the Empire*, pp. 203. New York and London, Oxford University Press.

This monograph traces the history of three English commercial organizations, The Merchants of the Staple, The Merchant Adventurers, and the Eastland Merchants, and defines their relation to the building of the British Empire. The great development of the companies in the Elizabethan period renders the subject important as a supplement to the history of British discovery, the naval victories over Spain, and the beginnings of colonization. The author holds that the story shows "the continuity of English history and the cardinal fact that the British Empire is the result of growth." He holds that the attention paid in histories to Crecy, Poitiers, Agincourt, is a tribute to British arms, but that the hundred years' war to keep a hold on France was "a most salutary failure"; that the future of Great Britain was shaped in a wholly different fashion,—“A future of penetration by trade and settlement, not by conquest . . . the work of English citizens not of English kings.” “The first pioneers of the Empire will be found not among the conquering kings of the Middle Ages but in the Merchant Adventurers of England.”

- Powell, Chilton Latham. *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653. A Study of Matrimony and Family Life as Revealed by the Literature, Law, and History of the Period*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Sarolea, C. *The French Renaissance*. New York, Pott.
- Savage, Howard J. The Beginning of Italian Influence in English Prose Fiction. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S., xxv, 1.
- Thompson, E. N. S. The Idea of Toleration in Puritan England. *Mid-West Quarterly*, iv, 204.

Zeitlin, Jacob. Review of George Philip Krapp's "The Rise of English Literary Prose." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xvi, 484.

VII. CONTINENTAL INFLUENCES

Boulting, William. *Giordano Bruno*. pp. 315. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co.; London, Kegan Paul.

A useful account of the life and opinions of a man who dedicated some of his works to Sidney, one of which may have influenced some parts of the *Faerie Queene*, and who gives a picture of London and Oxford life in the 1580's that is of considerable interest. To the materials already available in Elton's essay on "Bruno in England" (*Modern Studies*), Mr. Boulting's sizable volume adds an analysis of Bruno's voluminous works and an account of his wanderings in Switzerland, France, Germany, and Italy, and a complete story of his trial and martyrdom. Thus the book is one that will appeal to the student of Renaissance life and thought in many ways.

Bruno is an example of the restless intellectual curiosity that forms one of the characteristics of his time. A good illustration is in the fine sonnet prefixed to the *Infinito*, which Mr. Boulting translates as follows:

Rising on wing secure, with burning heart,
 What fate may scare me, smiling at the tomb,
 Bursting all bonds and scorning gates of doom,
 Whence few are chosen for such lofty part?
 I soar beyond the mortal years, and start
 For regions where grim irons cast no gloom
 Nor adamant restrains. Forth from the womb
 Of darkness, free and passionate, I dart.
 I dread no barrier of banished spheres;
 I cleave the sky, and other suns behold;
 Celestial worlds innumerable I see:
 One left, another company appears;
 My pinion fails not, and my heart is bold
 To journey on through all infinity.

Another is *Gli Eroici Furori*, a work which Mr. Boulting analyses under the fine title "The Transports of Intrepid Souls." It is, Mr. Boulting says, "one long hymn to intellectual beauty," perhaps the finest expression of Bruno's neo-Platonism. In it Bruno sets forth the soul's duty to itself as based on its own nature, not on external authority. "He leaves theology to itself and is not here concerned with social duty; still less with vulgar aims, but only with the unwearied ardors of noble desire, and with that hero who shall rise above the tumult of sense and the conflict of contraries."

In his constant insistence on the necessity of freeing the universities from the tyranny of Aristotle, Bruno is at one with Bacon, as he is also in his interest in science. He is like Bacon, too, in his passionate idealism in the search for truth, in his interest in the allegorical interpretation of ancient myth, and in his encyclopedic reading and infinite power of memory. He lacked Bacon's shrewd judgment of men, and this was one of the causes of his downfall. Mr. Boulting gives a very clear account of the tragedy in the life of this man who found so little chance for freedom of thought, even in Protestant countries. In the stories about Bruno's experiences in Geneva, in the universities of Toulouse and Paris, and in German universities, as well as in the account of the long and solemn trial by the Inquisition, one finds much material for reflection on the limitations of human intelligence and upon the hardships met, even in universities devoted to the investigation of truth, by a man of original and bold intelligence.

The most interesting chapters for students of English literature are those devoted to Bruno's life in Oxford and London and the analysis of the "Ash Wednesday Supper." The whole of the introduction to the account of this supper, which was supposed to have taken place at the house of Fulke Greville, Mr. Boulting thinks is imaginary, Bruno's object being to stimulate interest in the philosophical portion of the treatise through this rather sensational attack on London life and manners. Giordano Bruno must have been an extremely difficult person to get on with; his lack of tact, his airs of superiority, must have prevented the fine idealism and the originality of the thought of the man from having the influence that they might have attained had their author possessed something of Sidney's personal charm. Yet the total effect of the book is to give a profound sympathy for this child of the Renaissance, moving about in worlds not realized, clinging to the Church as a sort of anchor while attacking her shams and falsehoods, finding in Calvin and his followers an intolerance matched only by that of the Inquisition, and unable, for all his restlessness of intellect and greatness of learning, to come at any solution of the mystery of life.

- Bruno, G. *Pensieri*. Istituto editoriale italiano, Milano.
 Campanella, T. *La Citta del sole*. Istituto editoriale italiano, Milano.
 Dickerman, S. O. Du Bartas and St. Ambrose. *Modern Philology*, xv, 419.
 Nitze, William A. Corneille's Conception of Character and the Cortegiano. *Modern Philology*, xv, 129 and 385.
 Jackson, Thomas Graham. *A Holiday in Umbria, with an Account of Urbino and the Cortegiano of Costigliione*. London, Murray.
 Petre, M. D. Machiavelli and Modern Statecraft. *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1917, 93.

Parenti, Giorgio. *Niccolo Machiavelli e il Trentino*. Firenze.

Fisher, C. D. *Petrarch*. London and New York, Oxford University Press.

Wilkins, E. H. Notes on Petrarch. *Modern Language Notes*, XXXII, 193.

Stuart, Duane Reed. The Sources and the Extent of Petrarch's Knowledge of the Life of Vergil. *Classical Philology*, XII, 365.

Cook, Albert S. Petrarch and the Wine of Meroe. *American Journal of Philology*, XXXVIII, 312.

DEATH AND LIFE:

An Alliterative Poem

Edited with Introduction and Notes

By

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and

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Instructor in English in the University of North Carolina

Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando;
Dux vitae mortuus regnat vivus.

CHAPEL HILL

Published by the University

1918

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An Alliterative Poem

PREFACE

A new edition of this unique and beautiful alliterative poem has long been felt to be a desideratum. The Hales-Furnivall reprint of Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, published in 1868, where *Death and Liffe* is edited by Professor Skeat, is out of print, and Arber's modernization of the piece in the *Dunbar Anthology* is of little use for scholarly purposes. No other reprint exists, though an edition was promised some years ago by Professor Gollancz as a future number of his excellent series, *Select Early English Poems*. The present edition aims to make the poem accessible with a somewhat more extensive critical apparatus than falls within the scope of Professor Gollancz's plan. The publication, since the Hales-Furnivall reprint, of various important alliterative poems, with further studies of the alliterative style and meter, and the accumulated comment of several scholars, notably York Powell, Brotanek, Holthausen, and Miss Edith Scamman, have made possible a fuller illustration of *Death and Liffe* and a more accurate account of its literary relations than have heretofore been given.

The poem is well worth study, both from the scholarly and from the purely literary point of view. There are few finer things in the whole range of Middle-English poetry. The author has brought to his didactic theme a lofty imagination and a sense of poetic phrase which make *Death and Liffe* rank high even among the most powerful productions of the alliterative school. Its noble solemnity and religious fervor are touched with a romantic grace, and the subject is handled with the artistry of a poet bred in the traditions of such matchless works as *Gawain and the Green Knight* and *The Pearl*. The unusual combination of conventional materials gives to the work an exceptional degree of originality, a fact which has been somewhat obscured by undue insistence on the author's debt to *Piers Plowman*. Unfortunately the text of *Death and Liffe* is corrupt beyond the powers of a modern editor to restore, or even, in some places, to explain. Originally written in the archaic diction affected by writers of the alliterative school, the piece was copied by a scribe or scribes to whom many of the expressions were unintelligible. The latest copyist, moreover, was very careless. As a result the manuscript is a chaos of modernization and sheer blunder. A striking example is the line

& I ffayrlye befell, so fayre me bethought,

which would seem to be a scribe's "translation" of some such original as the following:

& a fayrlye befell, of fayrie me thought.

The present editors, while correcting some obvious errors, have thought it unwise to attempt any such restoration of the poem as was recommended by York Powell. Many of his suggestions have, however, been incorporated in the notes. In general the introductory sections on language and meter and the vocabulary are the work of Dr. Steadman; the discussions of the debate form, the theme and the sources are by Professor Hanford. For the conclusions as to date and for the textual and literary notes we are jointly responsible, though the work of collation has been chiefly borne by Dr. Steadman. We have used a rotograph facsimile of the manuscript and have been able to correct several errors in the Hales-Furnivall reprint, notably the omission of line 447.

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Chapel Hill, June 5, 1918.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE MANUSCRIPT

Death and Liffe is preserved in the famous Percy Folio ms., "a long narrow folio volume containing 195 Sonnets, Ballads, Historical Songs, and Metrical Romances, either in the whole or in part, for many of them are extremely mutilated and imperfect."¹

The transcripts seem to have been made about 1650 by one person, who often grew so weary of his labor as to write without due regard to the meaning of his copy.

Death and Liffe, standing between *The Turk in Linen* and *Adam Bell*, occupies pages 384-390 of the ms.

II. THE LANGUAGE

A. Phonology and Inflections.

Short Vowels

O. E. *a* gives *α* in this poem: *asketh*, 5, *haue*, 15, *fareth*, 22, *naked*, 91, *art*, 129, *care*, 131.

O. E. *a/n* gives *an* in the majority of cases, and, less often, *on*: *rann*, 4, 218, *manye*, 23, *hangeth*, 66, *standeth*, 82, 257, *hand*, 96; but *wrongfully*, 15, *long*, 162, *ronge*, 138.

O. E. *æ* gives *α* regularly: *that*, 1, etc., *was*, 26, *what*, 35, *brake*, 265.

O. E. *æg* appears regularly as *ai* or *ay*: *layd*, 71, *may*, 181, *braynes*, 265, *maydens*, 215, 437, *elaine*, 219, *day*, 244.

O. E. *e* appears usually as *e*, often as *ea*, and rarely as *ee*: *necke*, 91, *her*, *quelleth*, 213, *wretch*, 233, *helpe*, 242, *tell*, 85; *freake*, 161, 176, *speake*, 220; *deere*, 427. In *feild*, 319, we have *ei*, but in *feild*, 64, *ee*.

O. E. *e/r*. appears as *ar* in *clarkes*, 85, etc. (but *clearkes*, 8), *marde*, 141, 243.

O. E. *eg* appears as *ai*: *sayth*, 221, *way*, 308, *fraine*, 130.

O. E. *i* appears as *i*, *y*. See lines 1, 5, 15, 17, 21, 54, 74, etc.

O. E. *o* gives *o*: *body*, 6, *word*, 5, *hope*, 19, *god*, 20, *gold*, 62.

O. E. *u* gives *oo*: *doore*, 10, *wood*, 39; or *o*: *loue*, 69, 107, *some*, 262, *sonne*, 18; and *u* only in *rudd*, 66.

O. E. *u/nd* appears as *ound*: *ground*, 3, *mound*, 377.

O. E. *-ug*, appears as *ou*: *fowles*, 81.

¹ Preface to the first American edition of Percy's *Reliques*, Phil., 1823, page x.

Long Vowels

O. E. *a* becomes *o* usually, but sometimes *oo*: *both*, 11, *holy*, 19, *ghost*, 19, *glode*, 28, *hore*, 31, *drove*, 3, *more*, 47; *brood*, 25 (beside *brode*, 63). In monosyllables: *noe*, 11, *we*, 183, *woe*, 140, the spelling *oe* is common.

O. E. *ow* appears as *ou*, *ow*: *know*, 47, *soule*, 2, 236, *nought*, 9.

O. E. *æ* (Mercian *e*) appears as *ea* in *breath*, 34, *leadeth*, 124, *fears*, 130, *weapon*, 171, *deale*, 263; as *ee* in *sleepe*, 35, *deeds*, 103, *weeds*, 185, *beere*, 331.

O. E. *æg* appears as *ay*, *ai*: *gray*, 73, etc.

O. E. *ē* gives *ee* usually: *keene*, 10, *sweete*, 23, *greene*, 26, *deeme*, 87, *spede*, 117; and, less often, *e*: *breme*, 74, etc. In *neighed*, 137 (from O. M. *gonegum*) the spelling *ei* occurs.

O. E. *i* appears regularly as *i*, *y*. See lines 4, 10, 12, 73, 215, 181, etc.

O. E. *o* appears as *oo* or, less often, as *o*: *booke*, 16, *blood*, 4, *looks*, 29, *food*, 113, *sooth*, 120, *others*, 6, etc. In the monosyllable *doe* the spelling *oe* is common. Cf. the development of O. E. *ā*.

O. E. *ō/h* and *ō/g* give *ou*: *bowes*, 23.

O. E. *u* appears regularly as *ou*, *ow*: *south*, 50, *mouth*, 67, etc., *downe*, 195, *how*, 368. The *ū* in *seloother*, 182, is unusual.

Diphthongs

O. E. *ea* appears as *o* in *bold*, 7, *behold*, 139, *doles*, 275, *old*, 422, *told*, 391; as *a* in *all*, 12, 203, etc., *barnes*, 81, 242, *walled*, 207; and as *ee* in *beames*, 90, 110, 144, 424. *Welder*, 125, is unusual.

O. E. *eo* appears as *o* in *world*, 5, 117, *workes*, 17, *worth*, 248; as *a* in *hart*, 7, 18, 128, *carved*, 156, 247; and as *ea* in *earth*, 7, 11, *heaven*, 59, 135, *learned*, 179, 302. *Erles*, 53, and *burnes* (verb), 165, show *e* and *u*.

O. E. *ēa* regularly gives *ea*: *death*, 10, *greaten*, 17, *leaves*, 25, *stream*, 27, *beames*, 92, 407, etc.; but *e* in *red*, 4, *nere*, 146.

O. E. *eo* gives *ee* in *freelye*, 18, *deepe*, 38, *deere*, 53, 254, *see*, 162, etc., *trees*, 194, *feend*, 236, *leeds*, 339; *ea* in *deare*, 424; and *e* in *lere*, 170.

Consonants

O. E. *sc* appears regularly as *sh*, and *hw* as *wh*.

*Inflections**Verb*

Present Indicative: 1st person, *-e* or no ending.

2nd person, *-est*, ten times.

-es, four times (299, 363, 366).^a

^a *Es* for *est* is found in the superlatives *riches* and *oomlyes*.

Singular:	-s, twice (239, 370). -eth, five times (243, 288, 296, 297, 300).
3d person,	-eth, fifty-three times. -es, six times (9, 198, 220, 230, etc.).
Plural:	-en without exception.

Present participle: -ing.

Past participle: -en usually; -e; and no ending.

Present infinitive: Usually no ending, occasionally -e; -en (17, 392).⁹

B. Dialect

Students of *Death and Life* have called the dialect of the poem Midland or Northern.⁴ Since the poem shows a mixed dialect, this difference of opinion is perfectly intelligible. Furnivall believes that the language of the scribe of the Percy Folio ms. was that of Lancashire, which, unfortunately for our study, was itself a mixed dialect. The mixture of dialect may be due, then, either to the scribe of the Percy Folio or to an earlier scribe. In a poem that has been copied we know not how many times dialect mixture will almost always result. The mixture here between Northern and Midland we regard as due to the insertion of Northern forms by a scribe copying a Midland copy of the poem. This impression, of course, cannot be proved with any degree of certainty, and it is possible that York Powell is right in attributing the Midland characteristics to a Midland scribe. But since the basis of the language of the poem as we now have it is North Midland, we conclude that the Northern forms are due to one of the scribes. The conclusion

⁹ See summary of Luick's discussion of the metre of the poem, pp. 259-60.

⁴ Skeat (*Percy Folio* ms. III, 49 ff.) says that *D. & L.* and *Sc. F.* are written in the same dialect. Schipper (*op. cit.*, 96) and Luick (*op. cit.*, 608 and 612) believe that both poems are written in the Midland Dialect. But York Powell (*Eng. Stud.*, VII, 97 ff.), Schumacher (*op. cit.*, p. 11) and Holthausen (*Anglia Beiblatt*, XXIII, 157 ff.) are of the opinion that the original dialect of the poem was Northern. It is difficult to tell from the present state of the language whether the two poems are written in the same dialect. There are, however, some differences in the language of the two pieces that cast doubt on the correctness of Skeat's theory: (1) O. E. *e* gives *e* regularly in *Sc. F.*, *e*, *ea*, and *ee* in *D. & L.*; (2) *niiged*, *Sc. F.* 171, is a late spelling for M. E. *ē*; (3) *wt*, *wy*, *wight*, in *D. & L.* appears as *way* in *Sc. F.*, 114; (4) the vocabulary of *Sc. F.* is more Northern than that of *D. & L.*

that the dialect of the poem is North Midland is based on the following evidence:

1. There are no Southern characteristics.
2. Common to North Midland and Northern are O. E. $\bar{a} > \bar{a}$ and $\bar{o}$; the retention of $\bar{y} < \text{O. E. } \bar{y} < \bar{u}/i, j$; the infinitive in e or $-$; and the confusion of a, e , and o/r .
3. Northern are the past participle in $-en$; the infinitive without ending (usually); and $-es$ (ten cases) in the third person singular of the present indicative.
4. Characteristic of Midland are $-eth$ in the third person singular of the present indicative (fifty-three cases); $-en$ in the third plural indicative; the participle without exception in $ing(e)$; $sh < \text{O. E. } sc$ and $wh < \text{O. E. } hw$; $\bar{o}/r < \text{O. E. } \bar{a}/r$; $o < \text{O. E. } ea/ld$ and the absence or sco and $scho < \text{O. E. } seo$.

C. Vocabulary

In respect to vocabulary *Death and Liffe* is very similar to the alliterative poems of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The majority of the words are derived from Anglo-Saxon (79%), the Romance and Norse elements being much smaller (Romance 14.2%, Norse 6.6%). Many of the words are to be found in the other alliterative poems of this school. For example, the words listed by Skeat as peculiar to *Death and Liffe* and *Scottish Feilde* occur in practically all of the alliterative poems after *Piers Plowman*.⁵ As will be seen from the notes on alliterative phrases, the language of *Death and Liffe* is thoroughly conventional and entirely in line with the traditions of the alliterative school.⁶

⁵ *Leeds, Parl. Wm. Troy, Mortu Arthure; frekes, bearnes, segges, Parl., Wm., Tr. M. A.; weld, Wm., Tr., M. A.; keyre, Parl., Wm., Tr., M. A.; ding, Parl., Tr. Nay*, which Skeat takes as the equivalent of *nor* in *D. & L.* 33 and 443, is the only word that is peculiar to *D. & L.* and *So. F.* But in *So. F.* the word clearly means *not*, while in *D. & L.* it may mean *nay* or *nor*. It will be noted that the word occurs in lines which are identical in *D. & L.* A comparison of the vocabulary of *D. & L.* with the glossaries of other alliterative poems shows that *D. & L.* has 22 words (leaving out of consideration the familiar and common words) in common with *Parl.*, 29 with *Wm.*, 37 with *M. A.*, and 40 with *Troy*.

⁶ The difficulties in determining the meaning of some of the words in the poem are discussed in the textual notes or in the glossary. Some of the words listed may be miswritings of the copyist. Others are certainly correct writings of words which are rare and unusual.

III. THE DATE

Criteria for dating *Death and Liffe* with any degree of definiteness are almost wholly wanting. The extreme lateness of the manuscript makes the usual linguistic tests of uncertain value, and the poem contains no historical allusions which might afford a clew. Certain inference may, however, be drawn from its literary relations. Bishop Percy speaks of the piece as having been for aught that appears written as early as, if not before, the time of Langland, though he elsewhere suggests a common authorship with the sixteenth century *Scotish Feilde*, a poem written in the same general style and meter, which happens also to have been included in the Folio Manuscript. Subsequent commentators have agreed that *Death and Liffe* is later than *Piers Plowman*. The connection between the two works is obvious and a close examination of the parallels (see below, p. 248) will be found to establish pretty firmly the conclusion that it is the *Death and Liffe* author who is the debtor. The borrowings are from the B or C version, probably from C, though the evidence is somewhat contradictory. We are safe, therefore, in assuming that *Death and Liffe* was composed after 1377 (B) or 1386-1399 (C).

Percy's suggestion as to identity of authorship with *Scotish Feilde* was taken up by Skeat, who concludes that *Death and Liffe* was written not far from 1513, a date established for *Scotish Feilde* by the battle of Flodden Field in that year. Skeat's argument, based on a supposedly "remarkable similarity in the style, diction, and rhythm of the two poems," is entirely inconclusive. It is effectively disposed of by Miss Edith Scamman¹ in an extended consideration of the subject, the main points of which may be here given, together with some additional observations.

1. The metrical similarities are no greater than is to be expected in two poems of the alliterative tradition. There are indeed some important distinctions in metrical usage which led Luick, on this ground alone, to deny the common authorship of *Death and Liffe* and *Scotish Feilde*. (See pp. 259-260.)

2. The use in both pieces of such words as "frekes," "bearnes,"

¹ "The Alliterative Poem: *Death and Liffe*," *Radcliffe Studies in English and Comparative Literature*.

"segges," as equivalent of men and of peculiar words like "weld," "keyre," "ding," is unimportant, since these and similar phrases are a part of the conventional and archaic vocabulary employed by all writers of the alliterative tradition. (See above, p. 228). The use of "nay" for "ne" or "nor" is more unusual, but the word occurs only twice in *Death and Liffe* (for "nor," 433, 443), and once in *Scotish Feilde* (for "not," 81). If any importance is to be attached to this point the use in *Scotish Feilde* may be explained as due to the author's knowledge of *Death and Liffe*.

3. The parallel lines and phrases to which Skeat has pointed as evidence of common authorship lose their significance in view of a wider survey of the poems in the alliterative group; the parallels cited by Skeat being in almost every case alliterative commonplaces. (See notes to lines 24, 172, 185, 436, etc.). In any case these parallels can prove only that the *Scotish Feilde* poet was familiar with *Death and Liffe*.

4. Linguistic differences between the two are sufficiently marked to cast doubt on Skeat's hypothesis. (See above, p. 227).

5. In general *Death and Liffe* and *Scotish Feilde* bear but little resemblance to each other. The first is a vision allegory, embodying a debate, the work of a serious-minded poet steeped in mediæval literary traditions and possessed of exceptional imaginative power; the second a chronicle of contemporary events, by a gentleman (cf. line 416), vigorously written, but less archaic in form and entirely lacking in the poetic fervor and elevation of *Death and Liffe*. Professor Manly² is entirely right in feeling its author to have been incapable of the excellence of our poem. Further discussion of Skeat's conjecture is unnecessary in view of the fact that it has not seriously commended itself to any later student of the poem. It was based, no doubt, on the circumstance that these two alliterative poems happened to occur together in the Percy Manuscript, and a more mature consideration of the matter would probably have led Skeat to change his view.

A second attempt to fix the date of *Death and Liffe* in the sixteenth century is made by Miss Scamman in the article already cited. She finds in the poem an apparent imitation of certain passages describing Nature in Dunbar's *The Golden Targe* (93 ff.) and *The Thistle and the Rose* (73 ff.), and a general similarity

² *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. II, p. 46.

of theme with such poems as *The Lament for the Makaris*. She therefore concludes that the piece was written shortly after 1503, the date of *The Thistle and the Rose*. The true explanation of the parallels between the description of Liffe in our poem and those of Dame Nature in Dunbar, lies, however, not in Miss Scamman's theory of direct borrowing, but in the use of a common source, viz., the widely known *De Planctu Naturæ* of Alanus de Insulis. The relation of *Death and Liffe* to this poem is discussed in detail below. As to the theme of the inevitability and the destructive might of Death, we need go no further than the passages in *Piers Plowman* which the *Death and Liffe* author may be shown to have used. Indeed, one is embarrassed with riches in endeavoring to find sources for the use of this motive in *Death and Liffe*. Miss Scamman's conclusion as to date must therefore be rejected.

From the linguistic standpoint it is difficult to believe that *Death and Liffe* is as late as 1500. Despite the modernization of spelling, as in such words as "ghost," "doubt," the language of the poem appears to belong rather to the fifteenth than to the sixteenth century. A comparison of the phonology with that of *Winnere and Wastoure* and of *Emaré* forbids the conclusion that these poems and *Death and Liffe* are two hundred and fifty years apart in date. In literary form *Death and Liffe* holds very closely, as will be shown, with the older poems of the alliterative school, and it seems likely that its author was nearer to them in point of time than the poet of *Scotish Feilde*. Recent scholarly opinion has inclined to the middle of the fifteenth century as a probable period for the origin of *Death and Liffe*. Thus Luick (*op. cit.*, p. 612) observes that the style is "für das sechzehnte jahrhundert in hohem grade alterthümlicher." On metrical grounds he concludes that *Death and Liffe* probably originated at a time when the final *-e* was sometimes still pronounced in poetry (i. e., in the fifteenth century).³ Schneider, after a comparative study of the metre of the two poems, infers that the final *-e* was much more often pronounced in *Death and Liffe* than in *Scotish Feilde* and believes that it was composed some fifty years earlier, circa 1450.⁴ Our own study of *Death and Liffe* inclines us to the opinion that the

³ See also Luick's treatment of the *ur : w* alliteration in *Death and Liffe* and *Scotish Feilde*.

⁴ *Bonner Beiträge*, XII, 109 ff.

poem is before 1450 rather than after that date. Further comment on this subject will be found in the sections on language and meter, and on the theme and sources.

IV. THE DEBATE FORM

The conflictus or debate, of which, as we have already remarked, *Death and Life* is to be regarded as an example, is the joint product of the mediæval love of allegory and of the habit of controversy and disputation fostered by the discipline of the schools. The literary type is widespread and ill-defined, springing up not in mediæval Europe alone, but spontaneously in various times and places. Thus there was in the ancient *synkrisis* substantially the same phenomenon¹ and allegorical disputes, often identical in theme with those of the Middle Ages, exist in large numbers in Persian and Arabian Literature.² The mediæval debate has, however, a history of its own, developing certain traditional characteristics which are clearly traceable in *Death and Life*.

The term debate has been used to cover a great variety of more or less contentious dialogues, whether between real or fictitious individuals or between personified abstractions. The distinguishing feature of the class of debates to which *Death and Life* belongs is the clear cut opposition of two ideals or principles or points of view, expressed in a dialogue between typical or abstract figures who are themselves the embodiment of that for which they contend. The disputants may be typical persons, as a Christian and a Jew; animals, birds or objects; or finally mere abstractions, as Vice and Virtue, Wisdom and Folly, the World and Religion, Death and Life. The schematic mind of the Middle Ages, tending as it did to see things in black and white and prone to find everywhere opposites, antipathies, and contrasts, provided such materials in rich abundance. The debate is partly a *jeu d'esprit*, the work of pedagogues and scholastic philosophers on a half holiday, or of

¹ See Miss Margaret Waites' article, "Some Aspects of the Ancient Allegorical Debate," in Radcliffe *Studies in English and Comparative Literature*, also Otto Hense, *Die Synkrisis in der antiken Litteratur*, and Hürzel, *Der Dialog*.

² Moriz Steinschneider, "Rangstreit-Literatur," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 155 (4), 1907-8.

students amusing themselves with clever parodies of their serious intellectual occupations; it is partly, also, the fruit of a sincere endeavor of the mediæval man to represent imaginatively the great dualisms of existence and to proclaim the triumph of one or another principle in the eternal warfare of ideals. Hence, while many debates are trivial and wearisome, their cleverness having long since lost its point, others, like the Debate of the Body and the Soul, and the present one of Death and Life, are among the deepest and most powerful expressions of the mediæval spirit.

Since the contestants are personified principles or causes their discussion tends to resolve itself into a strife for superiority, but while the question is usually one of relative merit other issues may be involved. In the Debate of the Body and the Soul, for example, the contest hinges on the question of which one is responsible for the sins of man. Sometimes the point lies in the mutual rights of the two antagonists, and in such debates the contest is commonly conceived of as a legal one. The issue in *Death and Life* is fundamentally one of relative power and right. Liffe complains that Death is wantonly trampling down her children. Death boasts of her superior might, and also, after the more usual fashion of the debate, defends her utility in the scheme of things. Finally Liffe proclaims her eternal victory over the enemy through Christ. There is also in our poem the customary appeal to a judge, in this case God, who sends Countenance to restrain the ravages of Death, and the very common combination with the debate of the dream or vision setting. For the origin of these and other conventions we must review briefly the early history of the *genre* in mediæval literature.

The formal tradition of the mediæval debate begins in the neo-Latin poetry of the Carolingian renaissance. The materials for debate, expressed in forms which tend to approximate to the later mediæval type, and which did, as a matter of fact, often come to fuse with it, were already common enough, deriving from classical, Christian, and Teutonic sources. Chief of these were the rhetorical comparisons, contrasts and encomia which were familiar as literary exercises in the late Roman and early mediæval schools; didactic allegories like the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius and the theological dialogue between the four daughters of God; philosophical and polemical dialogue, particularly those in which

the Christian faith is defended against paganism, judaism, and other heresies; and lastly flytings and other types of popular dialogue. The establishment of a fairly definite literary form for the embodiment of the numerous contrasts and rivalries inherent in mediæval life and thought was, however, due to the determining influence of the classical pastoral, revived by Alcuin and his followers in the eighth and ninth centuries.³ In the typical debates of this period the characters—Winter and Summer, Truth and Falsehood, the Lily and the Rose—contend in amœbean strains with obvious reminiscences in their style and setting of the Virgilian eclogue. From these poems a definite tradition can be traced to the host of Latin conflictuses in the twelfth century, and, through them, to the debates which flourished in the vernacular literatures throughout the Middle Ages and well into modern times. In the Carolingian debates the dialogue is given with a simple narrative introduction like that in the pastoral, describing the contestants and telling of their meeting. In the eleventh century the author first appears as auditor of the dispute⁴ and the innovation made way for a more elaborate introduction recounting his experience. The debate thus becomes an “adventure” and is inevitably brought into association, as a second step, with the literature of vision. No discussion of the mediæval vision as an independent literary tradition is deemed necessary here, the subject having been extensively dealt with by many scholars. General allegories in vision form of course long antedate the earliest mediæval debates. The first instances of formal debates with vision introduction are the *Visio Fulberti*, the Latin original of the Debate of the Body and the Soul and, with a fuller development of the setting, the *Goliæ Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum*,⁵ both of the twelfth century. The judge, already present in the Carolingian debates as a figure borrowed from the eclogue (in the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* he is called Palaemon), is represented in most of the later disputations, appeal being made to

³ See Hanford, “Classical Pastoral and Medieval Debate” in *The Romanic Review*, vol. II, nos. 1 and 2.

⁴ In the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini*, ascribed to Hermannus Contractus, Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XI, pp. 215-238.

⁵ See Hanford, “The Medieval Debate between Wine and Water,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVIII, 3.

some neutral third person, often the author himself, or to a higher power, as in the case of *Death and Life*.

In the Latin conflictus of the twelfth century we have also for the first time the introduction into the debate of themes and motives drawn from the system of courtly love. The earlier disputations had been wholly learned and academic. The new strain of romantic allegory appears in the well-known *Altercatio Phyllidis et Floræ*,⁶ a poem in which the amatory controversy of the relative merits of the clerical and the knightly lover is completely assimilated to the traditional debate type, but with an elaboration of the descriptive and narrative machinery which, as in *Death and Life* and the vernacular debates generally, leaves the actual verbal disputation simply one incident in a series of romantic and allegorical events. The opening is an ornate description of springtime, a feature which became common in the Latin and vernacular disputes. The contestants are vividly characterized. They argue their cases warmly, and at length agree to submit the question to Cupid. The last half of the piece contains an account of their journey to the court of Love, where the God hears their cause and submits it to his judges, Use and Nature, who declare in favor of the clerk, thereby betraying very clearly the authorship of the composition. The *Altercatio* was widely known and imitated, and it is to be counted a chief influence in the later vernacular debate. The court of Love materials and the consequent extension of the allegory appear also in *Nummus et Amor*, a work of perhaps even earlier date than the *Altercatio* but apparently of little influence.⁷ In the *Altercatio Ganymedis et Helenæ*⁸ the dispute takes place on Olympus, not in the court of Cupid but in that of Mother Nature, a personage who, as we shall see, plays an important though disguised rôle in *Death and Life*. The poem is a vision with the conventional description of spring.

⁶ See Oulmont, *Les Débats du Clerc et du Chevalier*, Paris, 1911, for the texts and an extended study of this debate and its numerous imitations.

⁷ Extracts are printed from the twelfth century Tegernsee MS. in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 873, 685 ff. This very important document in the history of the Court of Love allegory has been passed over in silence by both Neilson and Langlois. As a debate it is a distant forerunner of *Winnere and Wastoure*.

⁸ Edited by Wattenbach, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XVIII, 124 ff.

With the extension of the narrative elements in the debate there goes also a change in the character of the dialogue. The earliest Latin disputations are under the domination of the pastoral form and the alternate speeches of the contestants are short and of equal length after the manner of the Virgilian eclogue. This is true also of some of the twelfth century poems, but in others, as, for example, the *Visio Fulberti*, the *Phyllis et Flora*, and in the vernacular debates generally, the dialogue tends to lose its amcebean character, the arguments becoming long, argumentative and without definite correspondences.

In the twelfth and thirteenth century Latin pieces we have, then, all the essential features of the fully developed allegorical debate, which became popular toward the end of the Middle Ages in France and England. The shift in emphasis from scholastic argument to picture and romantic story was inevitably carried still further, and various other motives, such as the allegorical tournament, adapted from the *Psychomachia* and from the romances themselves, are added. In *Husline et Aiglantine*, a French imitation of *Phyllis et Flora*, there is an extension of the account of the trial before Cupid. Bird advocates plead on either side, and champions, the nightingale for the knights and the parrot for the clerks, engage in combat. Similar developments are illustrated in the English Debate of Heart and Eye,⁹ a fifteenth century version from the French. In these debates the courtly, romantic, and amatory elements predominate; the more serious didactic debates derive their materials rather from moral allegory, satire, and theology. Their authors, however, especially in the fifteenth century, tend to follow the program set by the amatory disputes and are often more or less affected by their spirit. Thus in *Winnere and Wastoure*, a fourteenth century poem, which as we shall show is very closely related to *Death and Life*, we have the descriptive and narrative machinery developed at the expense of the debate proper, which nevertheless remains central in the work. There is an extended vision and springtime introduction, the appeal to a judge, and the elements, at least, of an allegorical tournament in the description of the accoutrements of the two contestants and their rival armies. These features are substantially

⁹ Discussed by me in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1911. The text is given by Miss Eleanor Hammond, *Anglia*, (xxxv), 235 ff.

repeated in our poem. It remains to consider the debate theme of *Death and Liffe* and to indicate the specific influences under which the piece took form.

V. THE THEME

A. The Coming of Death and the Debate of the Living and the Dead

In substance the alliterative *Death and Liffe* obviously belongs to the vast body of mediæval literature which has for its theme the inevitableness and the destructive might of Death, a topic of which the Middle Ages never wearied and upon which the authors of the period exhausted their powers of rhetoric and imagination. The conception of Death as the irresistible foe of mortality is, of course, universal. Classical literature contributed its part to the mediæval stream, as in Horace's

Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turris.

But the chief source was naturally scripture, with its many texts embodying the warning of the inevitability of Death and the uncertainty of its hour.¹ Such motives are elaborated in mediæval literature, with growing insistence on Death's hostility and appalling voraciousness. Characteristic embodiments in English are such poems as *Erthe upon Erthe*,² *Death*,³ *The Enemies of Man*,⁴ *The Signs of Death*.⁵ One of the commonest of mediæval formulæ for the universality of death is the *ubi sunt*, wherein the author reviews all classes of mankind, conceiving them as leveled alike by the scythe of the grim destroyer. Often enough the *ubi sunt* is boastfully pronounced by Death himself, as in *Cursor Mundi*, 330 ff., a passage which is paralleled in Death's enumeration of his conquests in *Death and Liffe*. A special development of this motive, which brings us nearer to the present poem, is the Dance of Death, and its probable original in literature and art, the

¹ *E. g.*, *Psalms* 88, 49; *Ecclesiastes* 3, 19; *Romans* 5, 12; 1 *Thessalonians* 5, 2; *James* 4, 14.

² *Anglia*, xxvi, 216; *E. E. T. S.*, cxli.

³ *E. E. T. S.*, xlix, 168.

⁴ *Englische Studien*, ix, 440.

⁵ *E. E. T. S.*, cxvii.

Dialogue or Debate of the Three Living Men and the Three Dead Men. The source of the legend is oriental. In a sixth century Arabian poem the poet and a king are passing some graves, when they hear the dead call out to the monarch: "What you are, we were; what we are, you shall be." A thirteenth century French poem by Baudouin de Condé gives the standard form of the legend. Three Living Men express one after another their terror at the sight of the Dead. Then the Dead, in order, address the Living:

noïies quel sommes,
Tel serés-vous; et tel comme ore estes, fumes.*

Sometimes the Living and Dead speak alternately. The reduction of the indefinite number of Dead in the Arabian legend to three involved making the Living Men representatives of Youth, Middle Age, and Old Age, thus enforcing the moral that Death comes alike at all periods of mortal life. In one form or another this theme had a tremendous popularity. The innumerable dialogues of Death and Life found in all languages are mostly fragments of it. Young men and old, man and woman, peasant, pope, and prince, with one voice record the vain protest against dissolution and receive the same grim answer from the cadavers or skeletons which are their other selves.⁷

The Dance of Death or the *danse macabre* is but a grotesque extension of the Three Dead Men and the Three Living Men.⁸ It appears first in the fifteenth century, in the form of a series of art representations of men and women of all classes, each led to the sepulchre by a skeleton. The designs are accompanied by texts similar to those already discussed.

The protest of living things and the blind ruthlessness of the destroyer are evidently the motivating ideas of our debate. It is unlikely that the *danse macabre* conception was present in the author's mind, since the great development of this motive was later than the probable date of *Death and Life*. He must, however,

* Montaiglon, *L'Alphabet de la Mort de Hans Holbein*, Paris, 1856.

⁷ For examples see Montaiglon, *Recueil de Poésies*, v, 60 ff.; D'Ancona, *Teatro Italiano*, i, 550; Steinschneider, *op. cit.*

⁸ This is the view of Künstle, *Die Legende der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten, und der Totendanz*; but see Hammond, *Latin Texts of the Dance of Death, Modern Philology*, viii, 399.

have known plenty of examples of the *Trois morts* dispute and the material would have come to him also through *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, where its influence is palpable. One important point of difference, however, is to be noted between the present debate and that of the *Trois morts*. In the latter it is not Life and Death who hold converse but the living and the dead. The Dead, however, easily become representatives of Death itself. In the Dance of Death, for example, the skeleton came to be interpreted as a personification of Death, and not merely as a mortal relic of humanity. The Living Men, moreover, are types of human life, and in some cases their place is taken by an abstraction, who still preserves the rôle of helpless victim. Thus the *Zwiesgesprach zwischen dem Leben und dem Tode*⁹ proves upon examination to be simply a *Trois morts* dispute with the personifications. So also in the *Débat et Proces de Nature et de Jeunesse*, Nature is Death and Youth a type of all who live.¹⁰

The conception of death as a skeleton, which through the influence of the Dance of Death, became universal in the fifteenth century, was long antedated by other forms of the personification. To these we may now turn in explanation of the grisly figure who in our poem smites Life's children in the dust. Throughout the literature of death there is a strong tendency to allegory and personification. Thus in Horace the *Atra Cura* sits behind the horseman as he rides. In scripture the most vivid representation is in *Revelations*, 6, 8: "And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him." The mediæval figures of Death are infinitely varied. Sometimes it is a youth, sometimes a man, sometimes a beast. The weapon is a bow, or lance, or scythe, or sword. The idea of Death's sovereignty is often suggested by a crown. Occasionally the figure is a woman, as in the representations of the crucifixion (See below, p. 243), in the *Three Enemies of Man*, and in *Death and Liffe*.¹¹ The associa-

⁹ Freybe, *Das Memento Mori*, Gotha, 1909, 86 ff.

¹⁰ *Le Débat des Deux Demoyelles*, Paris, 1825.

¹¹ See J. L. Wessely, *Die Gestalten des Todes und Des Teufels in der darstellenden Kunst*; Th. v. Frimmel, *Beiträge zu einer Ikonographie des Todes in Mittheil. der k. k. Centralcomm. zur Erforsch. u. Erhalt der Baudenkmale*, N. F., XIII-XVII (1887-1891); Kraus, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, II, 446-7.

tion of Death with Satan led to the adoption of many grotesque and horrible characteristics from the current demonology. This influence is particularly evident in *Death and Life*, where the "long tushes" and the neb of the nose reaching to the navel betray the hellish origin of the conception, while the leanness of the body and the deathly hue of the face suggest the cadaver. More specifically, however, the description of Dame Death in our poem was written under the influence of a considerable tradition of monsters and grisly ghosts in the poetry of the alliterative revival (See below, p. 254 and in the notes to lines 151 ff.).

It is unnecessary to allude further to the mediæval representations of the assaults of the monster Death on human kind. The subject constitutes, as is well known, one of the standard themes of the morality play. In the *Pride of Life* the action approximates a debate. The King of Life, boasting of his power and flattered by Strength and Hele, sets out to conquer death, but finds that he must share the lot of all mortality. It is important to note that the development of these plays and the great popularity of the Dance of Death fall together in the fifteenth century. There can be no question that the close of the Middle Ages saw an enormous increase in the emphasis on the idea of death and particularly on its more horrible aspects. Male¹² notes that the grewsome image of death does not appear frequently in mediæval art until the end of the fourteenth century. "Ce cadavre qui sort du tombeau pour nous enseigner non pas la néante mais le serieux de la vie, violà un personnage tout nouveau dans l'art. Le XIII siècle ne nous offre rien de pareil." The change is indicated in the different spirit in which death is represented in the *Trois Morts* and the *danse macabre*.

"Dans le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs la mort se presente, sans doute, sous un aspect redoutable. Mais, au fond, elle est plein de clémence. Elle parle rudement aux grands de ce monde mais elle leur laisse un delai; elle ne met pas sa main seche sur leur épaule. Elle a été suscitée par Dieu pour émouvoir le pécheur, non pas pour le frapper. Dans la Danse macabre, au contraire, toute idée de pitié disparaît.

This new emphasis, Male believes, results from the efforts of the mendicant friars to terrify the multitudes. The great pestilences

¹² *L'Art religieux*, 375 ff.

of the fourteenth century are also to be counted as an influence in burning on the consciousnesses of artists and poets the image of mortality. The vision of destruction in *Death and Liffe*, echoing and amplifying as it does similar materials in *Piers Plowman* (See below, p. 247) is in harmony, therefore, with the dominant temper of the literature of the late fourteenth and of the fifteenth centuries. The contemporary works of Lydgate are full of reflections on dissolution,¹³ death and change being indeed his principal themes; echoes of the *Trois morts* dispute are to be found in Henryson¹⁴; and Dunbar's poetry is steeped in the grotesque horror of the tomb. The elaborate didactic allegories of the time almost invariably introduce Death in a rôle similar to that played by him in the *Moralities*.¹⁵

The representation of Death in our poem as a demon rather than as a skeleton is an archaic feature and points to fourteenth century tradition as a primary influence in the author's conception.

B. The Conflict of Death and Life and the Victory of Life.

In the materials we have thus far considered the might of Death stands alone and unopposed. The protests of mortal creatures are weak and impotent. Life is a helpless victim, rather than a worthy antagonist of Death. The conception of an opposition between two great principles of Death and Life, in which the latter is not only coequal with its enemy but ultimately triumphant over him, in other words, the real debate of Death and Life may, I believe, be traced to two widely divergent sources, each contributing material of considerable importance in mediæval literature, and blending, in our poem, in a truly curious and characteristic fashion. The first of these is to be found in the popular consciousness, inherited from pagan times, of a titanic struggle pervading all nature, and in the primitive faith which sees the life principle temporarily obscured but never wholly conquered—perishing, so far as the eye can see, from the face of the earth in winter but

¹³ His *Dance of Maohabree* is the most important English text of the *Dance of Death*.

¹⁴ *The Reasoning betwixt Deth and Man*, *Scottish Text Society*, III, 134.

¹⁵ See Lydgate's *Assembly of the Gods*, stanzas 84 ff.; Hawes' *The Pastime of Pleasure*, and especially his *Example of Virtue*.

welling up eternal in the spring. The record of this belief is written in primitive myth and ritual, and it survives the stage of civilization which gave it birth in innumerable folk customs and in the themes and motives of popular literature. The ancient ceremony of the expulsion of Winter or Death, a central theme of mediæval folk-drama,¹⁶ supplied the materials for the earliest of mediæval debates, *The Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, to which allusion has already been made, and contention poems on the same subject, popular in essence, however much they may be transformed by literary and academic influences, are common in all the European languages.¹⁷ It is no mere accident that this contest of Winter and Summer heads the list, in time and perhaps also in popularity, of mediæval debate literature. The motive, indeed, pervades the whole debate tradition. In poem after poem we may recognize the same opponents, altered in name only and in external character. Thus Spring, or the vital principle, reappears as Youth in contrast to Age; as Wine, representing the untrammelled joy of living, in contrast to Water, the symbol of asceticism; as the Flower in contrast to the Leaf; as the Nightingale, the bird of spring and youth and merriment, in contrast to the Owl, stern apostle, of Winter and the mortification of the flesh. The sympathies of the author are, of course, not always on the side of the vital as opposed to the ascetic principle. A large number of mediæval debates are to be regarded as single combats in the great battle between the virtues and the vices; and here it is inevitably the stricter ideal which is championed against the more liberal, or the more spiritual against the more material. But even when the author officially swears allegiance to religion and asceticism, he is sometimes wont to allow the Devil's advocate to plead with a dangerous eloquence. In the Goliardic pieces the graceless poet openly espouses the Devil's cause. From one point of view these expressions are due simply to the welling up of human instinct against an abnormal asceticism; but the championship of the life principle in its various hypostases undoubtedly derived support also from a literary tradition deeply grounded in primitive culture and religion.

* See E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, vol. I, Book II.

** See Uhland's essay on the folk-drama of the seasons, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 17 ff.

Thus did instinctive mediæval faith in life maintain itself unorthodoxly against a whole theological and moralistic artillery of *memento mori*'s. Meanwhile Christian theology provided, in salvation, the triumph won for mankind by Christ's sacrifices upon the cross, its own transcendent weapon against death. It was indeed partly with a view to heightening this triumph that the terrible power of the destroyer was magnified. Already in Scripture there is implicit the conception of a mighty struggle: "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death. *Ero mors tua o mors.*" (*Hosea*, 13, 14) "So that when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall he bring to pass the saying that is written: Death is swallowed up in victory," (*I Corinthians*, 15, 54). The rendering of this struggle in terms of concrete allegory was, for the Middle Ages, inevitable. As early as the ninth century the essential motive of our debate in its theological aspect is neatly formulated in the *Victimæ paschali*, an Easter sequence ascribed to Wipo of Burgundia, known in the liturgy throughout the Middle Ages and still retained, it is said, in the Roman missal.

Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando;
Dux vitæ mortuus regnat vivus.¹⁸

Similar expressions are not uncommon in the hymns.

The allegory of the Death and Life conflict on the cross is embodied also in a widespread theme of Christian art. The two figures, Life and Death, appear together beside that of Christ in representations of the crucifixion, Life crowned on the right, Death falling or standing with broken lance upon the left. Life is generally represented as a female figure; Death as a man, a woman, a beast, or (in the fifteenth century) a skeleton. Their positions are connected with the general symbolism which made the right of the cross a token of eternal life, the left of death and damnation.¹⁹ The representations are accompanied by texts based on scriptural passages.²⁰

¹⁸ Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, II, 95.

¹⁹ Durandus, *Rationale*, Lib. VII, cap. xlv: *Per sinistram enim mortalitas, per dextram immortalitas designatur, secundum illud: Leva ejus sub capite meo, et dextera ejus amplexabitur me.*

²⁰ For example, in an eleventh century illumination: "*Mors devicta peris*

The employment of this motive in art is antecedent to the developed allegorical debate of Death and Life, and is to be counted one of the chief formative elements in its development. A similar relation exists between the disputation of Church and Synagogue and the allegorical figures of the Church in triumph and the Synagogue in defeat, also found in mediæval portrayals of the crucifixion. Meanwhile other elements are contributed by the apocryphal Harrowing of Hell, interpreted in the mediæval accounts as an allegorical combat between Christ and Satan. The struggle for the salvation of man's soul finally merges into the general battle of the Virtues and the Vices, with Christ engaged in a perpetual warfare against Satan, Sin, and Death.

We have, then, two distinct aspects of the conflict of Death and Life, each receiving allegorical embodiment throughout the Middle Ages; namely, the opposition of the life principle to Death as a physical fact, and the triumph of Eternal Life over both natural death and the "secunda mors," or the death of the soul. These two motives are combined in *Death and Liffe*. The exultant boast of Death and the vision of destruction are, as we have already seen, an embodiment of the general theme of the coming of Death to all mankind. Lady Liffe, in this aspect, is one with the King of Life in the morality or with the Lord of Life in *Piers Plouman*, though the poet's viewpoint is different in that his sympathies are on the side of the lovely knights and ladies who must fall before Death's falchion, while he represents Death herself, not as God's chastening instrument, but as a ruthless alien power who brings to a sudden conclusion the innocent joy of mortal life. But Lady Liffe in the earlier part of the poem is obviously something more than a simple type of all that lives and is subject to the power of Death. Instead of playing the rôle of a helpless victim, like the frail creatures who surround her, she is herself a power, a goddess—exempt from chance and change. She is, indeed, a symbol of the vital principle itself, which animates all nature and gives life and joy to all created things. She opposes the might of Death, not by arms, but by a challenge of her right, and by an appeal

qui Christum vincere gestis." A full treatment of the Life and Death motive in art is given by P. Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst*, 63 ff.

to the high King of Heaven, who quickly bids Death cease from her ravages among Life's children. Still, in her words to Dame Death, Liffe can do little more than protest and vaguely threaten. To Death's recitation of her conquests there is no effective reply, until she is betrayed by her arrogance into adding to them the name of Christ:

Have not I lusted gentlye with Iesu of heauen?
He was frayd of my fface in ffreshest of time.
Yett I knocked him on the crosse & carued throughe his hart.

Then suddenly the whole aspect of the contest changes. The "witless words" of Death afford Liffe the opportunity for a triumphant answer. Out of her own mouth is Death condemned. For Life in Christ has been victorious over Death. At this point the earlier pagan conception of Life merges into the theological and Christian. Henceforth she is eternal Life, salvation, the conqueror of Death and Satan. She was upon the cross with Christ, her bower "bigged forever" in his heart. In that great battle she had beaten Death forever, and, following her to Hell, had redeemed from thence Death's captives. In this part of the allegory Liffe becomes for the time a mere abstraction. The author has difficulty even in keeping the figure of speech which distinguishes her from Christ himself. But at the close of the poem she again becomes the kindly Lady "with lookes so gay," caring for her children, raising them from the earth where they lie slain, and hying over the hills with her winsome troop. The two divergent conceptions are here beautifully blended. The vital spirit which pervades all nature has become one with God, and the yearning faith in its permanence, darkened by the compelling phenomenon of death, is illumined and fortified by the idea of the resurrection. The poet has thus transcended the narrow bounds of mediæval ascetic thought, in which all material things are evil and nature itself an ally of Death and Hell, and has unconsciously and half accidentally adopted the more modern point of view, constructing out of purely mediæval materials a work which constitutes a dim prophecy of the Renaissance.

VI. IMMEDIATE SOURCES

A. *Piers Plowman*. That the author of *Death and Liffe* was acquainted with *The Vision of Piers Plowman* and derived from that work much of the essential material of his poem is beyond question. Skeat went so far as to say that he wrote in imitation of *Piers Plowman*, and Manly does not hesitate to class *Death and Liffe* among those works which continued the *Piers Plowman* tradition into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is the purpose of the present discussion to define in some detail the extent and the limits of this debt.

The central motive of the theological conflict is embodied in a passage contained in the B and C versions, in which Life contends with Death and triumphs through the resurrection.

'Ho shal Iouste with Iesus,' quath ich · 'Iewes, other scribes?'
 'Nay,' quath Faith, 'bote the feond · and Fals-dom-to-deye.
 Deith seith he wol for-do · and a-down brynge
 Al that lyueth other loketh · a londe and a watere.
 Lyf seith that he lyeth · and hath leyde hus lyf to wedde,
 That for al Deth can do · with-inne thre dayes,
 To walke and fecche fro the feonde · Peers frut the Plouhman,
 And legge hit ther hym lyketh · and Lucifer bynde,
 And forbete and bringe adoun · bale and deth for euere;
O mors, ero mors tua.'

And dede men for that deon · comen oute of deope graues,
 And tolden why that tempest · so longe tyme durede.
 'For a byter bataile' · the dede bodye seyde,
 'Lyf and Deth in this deorknesse · her on for-doth that other,
 Ac shal no wigt wite witerliche · ho shal haue mastrye,
 Er Soneday, a-boute sonne-rysyng' · and sank with that til erthe.¹

The conception of an actual debate between the powers of Life and Death is here clearly implied, and though the general theme is, as we have seen, a common one, verbal similarities² would appear to render it quite certain that the motive of the second half of *Death and Liffe* was suggested primarily by the above quoted passage. In both *Piers Plowman* and *Death and Liffe* the account of the

¹ C, Passus XXI, 26-35 and 64-70. Cf. B, Passus XVIII, 29-36 and 62-68.

² See notes to line 345.

battle on the cross culminates in the triumphant descent into Hell. The resemblance between the two is on the whole confined to well established features which had become traditional in the numerous narrative and dramatic renderings of this part of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the biblical original of the legend. These are the cry "*attolite portas*" at the entrance; the light which proceeds from Christ; the confusion of the demons; the binding of Lucifer; and the rescue of the Hebrew captives. The description in *Death and Liffe* is at once briefer and more picturesque. The author has omitted the preliminary debate between the Daughters of God and sacrificed the lengthy theological discussions, emphasizing the idea of a dramatic conflict and adding such touches as that of Lucifer hurling fiends on the fire in his fury. He has, moreover, assimilated the whole to the allegory of Death and Life. Skeat's implication that the two passages are substantially identical gives a wrong impression. There are, however, a few detailed parallels which confirm the conclusion that the account in *Death and Liffe* is primarily based on that in *Piers Plowman*. (See notes to lines 404 ff.)

In like manner the author of *Death and Liffe* seems to have drawn material for the description of Death's destructive assaults upon the children of Liffe from the later account in *Piers Plowman* of the ravages of Death, who is represented as coming in the train of Antichrist, accompanied by Disease and Old Age, against Lyf, here conceived, not as Everlasting Life, but as a type of sinful man.³ Definite proof that the author of *Death and Liffe* has this part of *Piers Plowman* in mind is afforded by the figure of Sir Comfort (Cf. *Death and Liffe*, 177-8), who in the passage referred to is summoned by "the lord that lyued after lust" to bear his banner against Death. The association of Death with the seven deadly sins explains the presence in *Death and Liffe* of Pride, who precedes the steps of Death as a sort of herald (Cf. 157 and 183).

A further parallel between *Death and Liffe* and *Piers Plowman* is to be found in the introductory visions. Conventional as the materials are, the parallels are sufficiently close to warrant the conclusion that the *Death and Liffe* author followed in outline the first twenty lines of the Prologue. The allegorical map of *Death*

³ C. Passus **xxiii**, 69 ff. Cf. B. Passus **xx**, 68 ff.

and Liffe is modelled after that in the earlier work, and verbal similarities are closer and more numerous in the visions than elsewhere in the two poems. (See notes.) The *Piers Plowman* vision, with its simple and logical allegory, is plainly the original. Thus the "field full of folk," suggested by *Matthew* 13, 38 ("The field is the world"), ceases in *Death and Liffe* to be a representation of all mankind and becomes a particular chivalric gathering, though traces of the original conception persist in the phrase "all the world full of wealth" and in the presence of swains as well as knights in *Death and Liffe*. So also the allegorical tower and dungeon are transmuted into a whole panorama of towns and castles, and in general the description of the landscape in *Death and Liffe* is much elaborated. The more essential inspiration for this part of the poem comes, as a matter of fact, from an altogether different source. (See section C, below.)

B. De Planctu Naturae. It will be apparent from the above comparison that the author of our poem, however much he may have depended on *Piers Plowman* for his material, has but little in common with the stern moralist of that great work. His treatment of the motives which he appropriates reflects a widely different point of view. Thus even the coming of Death, handled by the author of the B version with the grim satisfaction of the mediæval preacher, is rendered in *Death and Liffe* with a poetic and imaginative rather than with a moral emphasis, and much the same may be said of the treatment of the crucifixion and the Harrowing of Hell. These elements, moreover, are neither the most characteristic nor the most attractive portions of the poem. It is in the conception of the lovely Lady Liffe, not in her theological aspect, but as the winsome being who invigorates all earthly things with her smile, that the charm and freshness of the piece chiefly reside. And for this conception there is no satisfactory counterpart in *Piers Plowman*. *Lyf*, the type of corrupt mortality ripening toward destruction, who in *Passus XXIII* is assailed by *Deth* and *Elde*, obviously has no relation to the "*alma Venus genetrix*" of *Death and Liffe*. Nor is she, as *Skeat* maintains, the Lady Anima of the Vision of *Dowel* in *Passus XI*, though the relationship here is somewhat closer. Anima in *Piers Plowman*, is represented, according to the conventional allegory, as a lady dwelling in the castle of the body. The senses are enclosed in the castle "for loue

of the lady Anima that Lyf is ynempned," a detail suggestive of the affection which all creatures have for Lady Liffe. Here, however, the resemblance stops. The allegorical being of Lady Anima is confined within the pinfold of the body, while Lady Liffe is a deity, the *magna parens* of living things. Her abode is on that new Olympus, where the mediæval deities of pagan mythology—Venus, Fortune, Dame Nature and many others—hold their state. Enough has already been said of her character and function to show with which one of the divinities she is to be associated; her own words, addressed to the destroyer Death, betray her origin: ⁴

& as a theefe in a rout thou throngeth them to death,
that neither Nature, nor I flor none of thy deeds
may bring up our bearnes.⁵

Dame Liffe is, indeed, but a hypostasis of Dame Nature, a being to whom the Middle Ages had given vivid reality as the embodiment of God's creative power. Closer examination of the Anima passage in *Piers Plowman* will reveal the source from which the author of *Death and Liffe* may have derived the first suggestion for a transferal to Life of the attributes of Nature. The castle of Anima was made by Kind. "What sort of thing is this Kind?" asks the poet.

'Kynde is a creator,' quath Wit · 'of alle kyne thynges,
Fader and formour · of al that forth groweth,
The which is god grettest · that gynnyng hadde neuere,
Lord of lyf and of lyght · of lysse and of payne
Angeles and alle thyng · aren at hus wil;
Man is hym most lyk · of members and of face,
And semblable in soule to god · bote yf synne hit make.'

Having once adopted, from the hint afforded in this passage, the idea of associating the figures of Life and Nature, the *Death and Liffe* poet did not rely on *Piers Plowman* for the details of his picture. He turned rather to the richer image of Nature in the well-known *De Planctu Naturæ* of Alanus de Insulis,⁶ a work

⁴The following discussion is adapted from my article, "Dame Nature and Lady Liffe," *Modern Philology*, xv, 5, 313.

⁵*Death and Liffe*, 251-253.

⁶Reprinted in Wright's *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, vol. I. My quotations are from the English translation by Douglas M. Moffat, *Yale Studies in English*.

which had furnished Jean de Meung, Chaucer, and many others with the materials of their descriptions of the Goddess of Kind.

Natura, with Alanus, is the parent of living things. Like Lady Liffe, she appears to the poet in a vision, radiant and goddess-like, crowned with a heavenly diadem. Her neck and breasts are described in terms closely paralleled in the debate. Special emphasis is laid throughout the work on her love function, a characteristic which reappears in the picture of Lady Liffe. At the approach of Natura the instinct of life and love springs up in all things. "The earth, lately stripped of its adornments by the thieving winter, through the generosity of spring donned a purple tunic of flowers." So also as Liffe draws near

Blossomes & burgens breathed ffull sweete,
flowers flourished in the frith where shee forth steppedd,
& the grasse *that* was gray greened belieu.

The similarity of detail at this point in the two descriptions leaves no doubt that the author of *Death and Liffe* is following the account of *De Planctu*. In both poems the fish express their joy; in both the trees bend their branches in honor of the goddess' approach.

These lowered their leaves and with a sort of bowed veneration, as if they were bending their knees, offered her their prayers.

[*De Planctu*, Prose II.]

The boughes eche one
they lowted to that Ladye & layd forth their branches.

[*Death and Liffe*, 69-70.]

Even more conclusive is the following. The garment of Nature is allegorically described by Alanus after the model of Boethius, whose *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* he is following throughout. It is ever changing, elusive to the eye, and of a supernatural substance. Similarly the author of *Death and Liffe*, quite unintelligibly, except on the hypothesis that he is echoing Alanus, invests his goddess in a mysterious mantle.

In kirtle & mantle
of goodlyest greene that ever groome wore
for the kind of that cloth can noe clarke tell.

Indeed, the whole passage describing the approach of Liffe (*Death and Liffe*, 57-141) is but an elaboration of suggestions in

De Planctu Naturæ. In the subsequent narrative of the poet's meeting with Lady Liffe there is also a general similarity with Alanus' work, but these elements are more connectional.

In view of the substantial identity of Lady Liffe and Alanus' Natura it becomes unnecessary to resort, as Skeat does, to vaguer parallels with the descriptions in *Piers Plowman* of Lady Meed and Holichurche. The atmosphere which surrounds these figures is quite different from that which surrounds Lady Liffe. The latter is obviously close akin to the Venus of mediæval love allegory; her host is a kind of Court of Love, recruited from among the well-known names of romantic story, and, in the case of the abstractions, from the traditions of the *Romance of the Rose*. The materials of this part of the debate reveal in the poet a source of inspiration very different from the sombre earnestness of *Piers Plowman*.

C. *Winnere and Wastoure* and *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*. A survey of the romantic poetry of the alliterative revival affords abundant evidence of the *Death and Liffe* author's wider range. The recurrence in the poem of phrases not found in *Piers Plowman* but common in other poems of the alliterative school shows the poet to have been well versed in the alliterative tradition. In style and meter *Death and Liffe* is really much closer to such works as the *Morte Arthure* than it is to *Piers Plowman*. To two poems, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* and *Winnere and Wastoure*,⁷ which are among the earliest products of the alliterative revival, the relation of *Death and Liffe* is particularly close. All three poems conform to the type of the fully developed allegorical debate, having the vision setting and the elaborately developed narrative and descriptive machinery. The opening visions have several common features which are wanting in *Piers Plowman*, and there are some

⁷ Edited by Gollancz, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, Roxburghe Club Publications, 1897; *The Parlement* is reprinted by Gollancz in *Select Early English Poems*. The three alliterative debates are described together by Professor W. H. Schofield as illustrating certain conventional features of the mediæval vision in his article "The Nature and Fabric of the Pearl," *P. M. L. A.*, XIX, 195 ff. Miss Scamman, *op. cit.*, points out the structural similarity of *Death and Liffe* and *Winnere and Wastoure*, giving numerous parallels in alliterative phraseology in these poems and in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*.

striking resemblances of detail.⁸ In all three the land of streams and birds and flowers in which the poet is wandering is richly described. Despite their apparent unlikeness the principal figures in the three debates have, moreover, an essential kinship. Thus Middle Elde and Youth, the former expressly pictured as a money-getter, the latter a spender, are Winnere and Wastoure; and Winnere and Wastoure, in turn, suggest in their qualities and relation to each other Death and Liffe. Liffe complains that Death destroys all that she labors to produce, as Winnere reproaches Wastoure with wasting through pride what he himself wins through will. Old Age, moreover, in *The Parlement* speaks as Death's messenger, employing many of the conventional motives repeated in *Death and Liffe*. Winnere, Wastoure, and Liffe are accompanied by armies of typical and allegorical figures.⁹ In both *Death and Liffe* and *Winnere and Wastoure* appeal is made before the debate begins to a higher power (the King in *Winnere*, God in *Death and Liffe*); and in both a messenger is sent to put a stop, in one case to the conflict, in the other to the ravages of Death. Finally the authors of all three poems show a considerable predilection for romance. The worthies listed as Death's conquests in *The Parlement* by Old Age are practically recapitulated in Death's boast in *Death and Liffe*. From this comparison it will appear that in its general structure *Death and Liffe* approximates very closely to *Winnere and Wastoure*, while in its essential theme and in details of expression it is rather nearer to *The Parlement*. The resemblances in either case are too striking and fundamental to be the result of accident. Since

⁸ See notes.

⁹ Winnere addresses Wastoure in terms which would be equally applicable to the Death and Life dispute:

Bot this felle false thefe þat byfore 3owe standes
Thynkes to stryke or he styntt and stroye me for ever.

(*W. and W.*, 228).

Winnere and Death express hatred of their opponents in similar language:

3it harde sore es myn and harmes me more
Ever to see in my syghte that I in soul hate. (*W. and W.*, 454).
Therefore, liffe, thou me leaue. I loue thee but a little;
I hate thee and thy houshold, and thy hyndes all!

(*D. and L.*, 277).

Winnere and Wastoure can be definitely dated not much later than 1350, i. e., before the earliest version of *Piers Plowman*, and since there is no reason to contest Gollancz' opinion that *Winnere* and *The Parlement* are by the same author we must conclude that the *Death and Liffe* poet was acquainted with both poems and used them almost as extensively as he did *Piers Plowman*. Presumably he knew other poems of the alliterative school as well. Something of a case could be made out for the *Auntys of Arthure*. (See notes to lines 151, 159, 165, 175, 196, 340).

The foregoing analysis of the various motives and influences traceable in *Death and Liffe* warrants a somewhat more specific account of the genesis and literary character of the poem than has hitherto been given.

The author, living probably in the fifteenth century, is first of all an inheritor of the rich tradition of the earlier alliterative revival. His acquaintance with this literature in its more romantic and imaginative aspects is reflected in his free use of the highly poetic vocabulary of the school, which enables him to achieve a style more vivid and colorful than that of *Piers Plowman* or *Scottish Feilde*. The atmosphere of the piece bears evidence of contact with the galaxy of poems which have been indiscriminately ascribed to Huchowne of the Awle Ryale. In reality, however, the *Death and Liffe* author stands apart from the writers of this school; he is one of the after-born and has never been admitted to the deeper mysteries of their chivalric order. There is in his poem, to be sure, the fresh breath of springtime in wood and field; he beholds the same visionary landscape, conventional in form but permeated with a real sense of the "beauty and bliss" of nature. He has, too, their somewhat sober sympathy with the brighter and happier side of life—with knights and lovely ladies in the trappings of romance, with the birds that sing amid the boughs, and with the fish that swim gaily in the element. Yet he has, on the other hand, nothing of the technique of chivalry—no hunting scene, no feast in Arthur's hall, no elaborate description of armorial bearings or equipment. In all this his poem differs markedly not only from *Gawain and the Green Knight*, but also from *The Parlement* and *Winnere*. Its catalogue of romance heroes shows no such intimate feeling for the stories as is apparent in the

corresponding passage in *The Parlement*. Our poet sees romance, as it were, from a distance and without participating, like the Gawain poet, in its inner life. His temperament and the spirit of his time inclined him rather to allegory, in that form which combines didacticism with romance—The Court of Love and the Romance of the Rose. He is possessed also of the deeper moral and religious consciousness of his age, sees Death as the inevitable counterpart of romance and joy, and salvation joining issue with and triumphant over Death. It was natural, therefore, that he should have been attracted, among the alliterative poems, particularly by *Winnere and Wastoure*, with its stately and picturesque didactic allegory, and by *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, in which a sermon on death and dissolution is made a means for the introduction, with obvious sympathy on the part of the author, of the richly varied matter of mediæval romance. Designing to compose an allegorical work after the model of these poems the author of *Death and Liffe* found new but kindred materials in *Piers Plowman* in the war of Death on mankind and in the spiritual triumph over Death of Eternal Life in Christ. The account in *Piers Plowman* of the ravages of physical death fell in with the sermon of *Elde* in *The Parlement* and with the general current of the moralizing literature of the fifteenth century. But the personification in *Piers Plowman* lacked vividness, and in elaborating the picture the poet turned to the earlier images of Death in mediæval literature, particularly, it may be, to the description of the ugly ghost in the *Awntyrs of Arthure*. The opposing concept of Life as a type of corrupt and sinful man and the correlative sense of Death as God's instrument of punishment were out of accord with the poet's partisan sympathies. He found, however, in the winsome Lady Anima the hint for a more fitting allegorical counterpart of the grisly horror, and the passage in which she is associated with Kind suggested a new opportunity for poetic elaboration, the materials for which were ready at hand in Alanus. Life, as the hypostasis of Dame Nature, thus becomes the heroine, and with her is associated the idea of Venus and her gentle troupe of followers from the realms of love allegory and romantic fiction. Death henceforth is a hateful intruder and her theological defeat a fitting punishment. The result is a poem of peculiar charm, an unquestionable work of art, sufficiently distinct in spirit and effect

from the work of the great romantic writers of the *Gawain* group and from that of the serious moralists and social reformers who followed in the wake of "Langland." The author's name, if we could know it, would perhaps stand first, in actual poetic merit, among the English writers of the fifteenth century, and it would be not the least memorable in the great but shadowy list of those poets who found in the ancient Teutonic verse form a more powerful instrument for poetic expression than they could possibly have found in the glib octosyllabics of French romance or the broken down heroic couplet of the fifteenth century disciples of Chaucer.

VII. METRE

Death and Liffe is written in that modified alliterative verse which appeared in Middle English during the second quarter of the fourteenth century and which continued for about two hundred years. The lengthening of short vowels in accented syllables and the loss of final *-e* caused this verse to differ in many respects from Old English poetry.¹

The line is divided by a sense-pause into two halves, each of which contains at least two accented syllables.² These half lines are bound together, in most cases, by alliteration. According to the number and the position of the alliterative words, the lines may be classified according to the following types:

I. Two alliterative words in the first half line with one in the second: *a a / a x* or *a a / x a*. This is the normal line in *Death and Liffe*;³ three hundred and forty-three out of the 459 lines in the poem are of this type. For examples, see ll. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, etc.

¹ For a full discussion of the Middle English alliterative poetry, see J. Schipper, *A History of English Versification*, Oxford, 1910, Chapter IV; Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody*, London, 1906, I, 100 ff.; K. Luick, "Die Englische Stabreimzelle im XIV, XV, und XVI Jahrhundert," *Anglia*, XI, 393-443 and 553-618; and K. Schumacher, "Studien über den Stabreim in der mittelleng. Alliterationsedichtung," *Bonner Studien*, XI (1914).

² Since the sense-pause generally coincides with the end of the line, there are fewer run-on lines than in Old English poetry.

³ I have examined *Scottish Feilde*, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, and *William of Palerne* (the first 450 lines) for the purpose of comparing the metre of these poems with that of *D. & L. Sc. F.* has 420 ll., *The Parle-*

II. Two alliterative words in each half line,⁴ a a / a a. This type is a slight variant of I.

III. Three alliterative words in the first half line with one or two in the second: a a a / a (a). The frequent occurrence of this type of line—with three alliterative words in the first half—convinces me that the triple alliteration was consciously sought after.⁵

IV. One alliterative word in the first half line with two in the second: ⁶ a x / a a. This type is the inverted form of I.

V. One alliterative word in each half line:⁷ x a / x a or x a / a x or a x / a x.

VI. Double alliteration:⁸ a a / b b. Skeat (*Percy Folio* 1, 216, note to *Scotish Feilde*, line 75) regards this type as debased since each half line is independent in its alliteration. Furnivall admits the presence of lines of this type, but he points out that in some cases, as in ll. 74-76 of *Scotish Feilde*, the alliteration is carried over from line to line. Thus the first half line of type a a / b b may form a triplet with the two halves of the preceding line and the second a triplet with the two halves of the following line. An examination of the lines in *Death and Liffe* with double alliteration shows that Furnivall was right in admitting this as a new type of alliterative line. See *Death and Liffe*, 130, 159, 209, for variations of this run-on alliterative line. But contrast lines 30, 184, 207, 262, 276, 354, 457. In *Scotish Feilde* there are four examples of run-on alliteration: 75, 85, 368 and 392.

VII. Transverse alliteration:⁹ a b / a b.

VIII. Introverted alliteration:¹⁰ a b / b a.

ment 665, and *D. & L.* 459. For the first type of line the results are as follows: *D. & L.*, 343, *Sc. F.*, 123, *Parl.* 564, and *Wm.*, 397.

⁴ *D. & L.*, 1 (line 122); *Sc. F.*, 11, *Parl.*, 6, *Wm.*, 0.

⁵ *D. & L.*, 41 (1, 3, 10, etc.), *Sc. F.* 16, *Parl.* 29, *Wm.* 3.

⁶ *D. & L.*, 7 (18, 173, 192, 211, 221, 258, 295), *Sc. F.* 6, *Parl.* 3, *Wm.* 2.

⁷ *D. & L.*, 16 (40, 69, 349, 372, 411, 447, etc.), *Sc. F.* 21, *Parl.* 5, *Wm.* 11.

⁸ *D. & L.*, 11 (30, 130, 159, 184, 207, 262, 276, etc.), *Sc. F.* 12, *Parl.* 2, *Wm.* 4.

⁹ *D. & L.*, 2 (95, 160), *Sc. F.* 1, *Parl.* 0, *Wm.* 3. In *D. & L.* there are no occurrences of the types a a b / a b and a a / a b b, which occur a few times in *Sc. F.* and *Parl.*

¹⁰ *D. & L.*, 1 (285), *Sc. F.* 4, *Parl.* 0, *Wm.* 2. There are no examples in *D. & L.* of a b b / a or of a a b / b, types which occur, though very rarely, in *Parl.* and *Sc. F.*

IX. Vocalic alliteration. This type is very common in all the poems of this school.¹¹

X. Alliteration in the first half line only:¹² a a / x or a a a / x.

XI. Lines without alliteration.¹³ It is impossible to tell whether lines without alliteration are due to corruptions of the text or to the failure of the author to compose alliterative lines. In the case of *Death and Liffe* and *Scotish Feilde* some of these lines are obviously due to careless copying. Again it is significant that *Parlement*, which is relatively free from scribal errors, contains not a single example of a non-alliterative line.

The presence of such a great number of types of alliteration shows that the "rules" were followed less closely in this poem, and in other poems of this school, than in the Old English alliterative verse. The author was apparently satisfied if he succeeded in binding his half lines together by any sort of alliteration. He allows himself many poetic licenses in the manner of binding the half lines together.

In the first place, the alliteration sometimes falls upon an unstressed word, as in lines 194, 209, 245, 262, 314, 322. Sometimes the attributive adjective takes the accent, sometimes the noun. In the combination of verb plus prepositional adverb either the verb or the preposition may take the accent. In one case, line 211, both are accented.

Again, in verbal compounds either the prefix or the root may bear the alliteration. In the great majority of cases (16), however, the root of the word bears the alliteration. The prefix bears the alliteration in lines 128 and 406.¹⁴

¹¹ *D. & L.*, 11 (19, 57, 104, 185, etc.), *Sc. F.* 10, *Parl.* 46, *Wm.* 5. Vocalic alliteration becomes rarer in the fifteenth century. Schumacher, p. 5, discusses this type in *D. & L.* See also pp. 62 and 351.

¹² *D. & L.*, 15 (2, 38, 92, 121, 156, 168, 291, etc.), *Sc. F.* 28, *Parl.* 6, *Wm.* 17. A slight change in some of these lines would make them conform to the normal type. In the case of some of the proposed emendations of York Powell, Holthausen, and Brotanek, the change seems justified by a comparison with other lines. But in the majority of cases the changes are so radical as to involve a rewriting of these lines to make them conform to the normal line. The presence of type X, however, in the poems of this school is not due, I think, to the errors of the copyists, but rather to the authors themselves.

¹³ *D. & L.*, 6, (150, 153, 171, 307, 417, 421), *Sc. F.* 6, *Parl.* 0, *Wm.* 7.

¹⁴ Even in *Edgelong and everlasting*, the alliteration is on *l*, and in line

Moreover, the author of *Death and Liffe* admits many alliterations upon sounds only approximately the same, such as *w:wr* (269), *k:kn* (47, 51, 100, 118, etc.), and *j:g* (331), *s:sch* (400), *sh:st* (370), *k:qu* 357.¹⁵

Finally, the number of unaccented syllables in the arsis or in anacrusis varies considerably. A comparison of *Death and Liffe* with *The Destruction of Troy* shows that the regularity of the metre in the latter is not to be found in our poem.¹⁶ It is probable, therefore, that the author of *Death and Liffe* was imitating a form of verse which he understood only imperfectly. In view of these facts, therefore, it is extremely hazardous to attempt to emend the unusual or imperfect lines in order to make them conform to the more rigid requirements of Old English alliterative verse or even to the requirements of the early Middle English alliterative poems. The attempts of York Powell, Holthausen, and Brotanek to normalize the imperfectly alliterating lines in *Death and Liffe* involve such radical changes in the poem as to constitute a rewriting of most of the difficult passages.¹⁷ Such changes are based on the assumption that the author's copy of the poem was entirely regular in metre. But such an assumption,

152 the alliteration is (*v*)*glyest—ghosts—gone*. This false division of a word is seen also in (*E*)*menyduse*, *Parl.* 342, 359, (*Ec*)*clesiastes—clerke—(de)clares*, 638. There is no difference between *D. & L.* and the other poems of this school in respect to the alliteration of compound words.

¹⁵ Such combinations were evidently perfectly permissible, however, according to the "rules" of this school. In *Parl.*, which, like *D. & L.*, is comparatively strict in this respect, I find only *k:kn*, *s:sh*, and *w:wh*. *Sc. F.* and *Wm.* are more lax. In *Sc. F.* I find *w:v*, *sk:k*, *sk:k:kn*, *g:j*, *g:k*, and *sq:sw:sn*; in *Wm.* *k:oh*, *k:kn*, *w:v*, *w:wh*, *s:sh*. See also Schumacher, pp. 44, 54, and 62.

¹⁶ I find it impossible to make the lines of *D. & L.* conform to the types given by Luick, *Anglia* XI, 404, as characteristic of *The Destruction of Troy*. For example, *breathed full sweete*, 23, may be scanned /xx/ (A₁) or /xx/x (A) according to the pronunciation of the final -e; and *with their bright Leaves*, 25, as xx// (C₁) or as xx//x (B). Since there is no apparent regularity in the number of unaccented syllables in the arsis, the metrical evidence does not help us to determine whether final -e was pronounced in this poem.

¹⁷ York Powell, "Notes on Death and Life," *Eng. Stud.*, VII, 97 ff.; Holthausen, "Zu Death and Life," *Anglia Beiblatt*, XXIII, 157 ff.; Brotanek, review of Arber's *Dunbar Anthology*, *Anglia Beiblatt*, XIII, 176-7.

I think, is entirely unwarranted. The divergencies from the older alliterative types are so numerous and so varied that we must assume that almost any sort of alliteration was allowed, provided only that there was some semblance of alliteration. For a discussion of some¹⁸ of these proposed emendations see notes to lines 19, 28, 30, 46, 95, 130, 153, 156, 221, 239, 285, 311, 321 and 352.

Because of a similarity in metrical structure, Percy believed that *Death and Liffe* and *Scotish Feilde* were by the same author.¹⁹ Skeat advances as one of his arguments for common authorship the "remarkable similarity in the style, diction, and rhythm of the two poems."²⁰

The comparison that has been made between these two poems shows that they are similar in metre, but that they are by no means remarkably similar. There is, of course, a close similarity between all the poems of this school, but this similarity is best explained by imitation and by common traditions, and not by identity of authorship. Luick's discussion²¹ of the relation between *Death and Liffe* and *Scotish Feilde* is well worth summarizing.

1. In *Death and Liffe* there are fewer cases of sonorous final syllables than in *Scotish Feilde* (49% : 66%).

2. Short half lines are more numerous in *Death and Liffe* (19, 46, 158, 237, 244, etc.).

3. "Very striking for the sixteenth century, in my opinion, is the infinitive ending *-en* in line 392: *to kithen his strenght*. Although this form is not certainly confirmed by the metre as the author's form, it is nevertheless protected."

4. The alliteration *ryde:reschew:wrought* (215) at first sight would point to a late date of composition. But since *wr* elsewhere always alliterates only with *w* (15, 221, 233, 269, 296), this

¹⁸ I have not attempted to discuss all of these proposed emendations, but have limited myself to one or two of each type. Each emendation discussed represents a whole group of proposed emendations.

¹⁹ "It is in the same measure as the Ballad of *Liffe & Death*, which from a similitude of style, seems to have been written by the same author." (Cited in the Hales-Furnivall edition of the Percy Folio MS., I, 199, fn.)

²⁰ *Percy Folio MS.*, ed. Hales-Furnivall, III, 49.

²¹ *Anglia*, XI, 608-613.

single instance of the *r:wr* alliteration may be explained as the mistake of the copyist or as a forced rhyme. In *Scotish Feilde*, however, in spite of the equal length of the two poems, *wr* only once alliterates with *w* (*wende:will:wrought*, 70), the usual alliteration being *wr:r*.²² Since *w* is not pronounced in *Scotish Feilde* this poem must be later than *Death and Liffe*.

5. "I think, therefore, that the two poems are not by the same author, but that *Death and Liffe* is older than *Scotish Feilde* and belongs to a fifteenth century follower of Langley. Perhaps it even belongs to a time when *-e* still had its value in the poetic language."²³

6. *Death and Liffe* was well known to the author of *Scotish Feilde*.

7. Both poems are greatly influenced by the traditions of the older poetry of the fourteenth century (especially by *The Destruction of Troy*). This influence of the older alliterative poetry is seen in the vocabulary, in the alliterative formulas, and in the archaic style. Many alliterative combinations and many traditions proper only to the fourteenth century appear in *Death and Liffe* and *Scotish Feilde* and are to be explained by the author's imitation of the older alliterative poetry.

²² Luick explains this one exoeption by the fact that the *wr: w* combination is due to a later metathesis of *worked*, the author's original.

²³ Luick gives no evidence to support this important statement. See note to page 227.

DEATH & LIFFE

2 fitts

[I]

Christ, Christen King, *that* on the crosse tholed, ✕
 hadd paines & passyons to deffend our soules,
 giue vs grace on the ground the greatlye to serue
 for *that* royall red blood *that* rann ffrom thy side;
 & take away of thy winne word as the world asketh, 5
that is richer of renowne, rents or others.
 For boldnesse of body nor blytheness of hart,
 coninge of clearkes ne cost vpon earth,
 but all wasteth away & worthes to nought,
 when Death driueth att the doore with his darts keene. 10
 Then noe truse can be taken, noe treasure on earth;
 but all lordshipps be lost & the liffe both.
 If thou haue pleased the Prince *that* paradise weldeth
 there is noe bearne borne *that* may thy blisse recon.
 But if thou haue wrongffully wrought & will not amend, 15
 thou shalt byterlye bye or else the booke ffayleth.
 Therefore begin in God to greaten our workes,
 & in his ffaythffull Sonne *that* ffreelye him ffolloweth,
 in hope of the Holy Ghost *that* yeeld shall neuer.
 God *that* is gracyous & gouerne[th] vs all 20
 bringe vs into blisse, *that* brought vs out of ball.

Thus ffared I through a ffryth were fflowers were manye,

In the textual notes P. stands for Percy, Sk. for Skeat, F. for Furnivall, Po. for Powell, Br. for Brotanek, and Holt. for Holthausen. Modern usage is followed in punctuation and capitalization.

1. The lines of *Death and Liffe* are written short up to line 87 of the text. From that point on the lines are written long, with no pause-marks in the ms.

10. ms. *doere?*—F.

20. ms. *gouverne.*

bright bowes in the banke breathed ffull sweete,
 the red rayling roses, the riches of fflowers,
 land broad on their bankes with their bright leaues, 25
 & a riuer *that* was rich runn ouer the greene
 with still sturring streames *that* streamed ffull bright.
 Over the glittering ground as I there glode,
 methought itt lenghtened my liſſe to looke on the bankes.
 Then among the fayre flowers I settled me to sitt 30
 vnder a huge hawthorne *that* hore was of blossomes;
 I bent my backe to the bole & blenched to the streames.
 Thus preest I on apace vnder the greene hawthorne.
 ffor breme of the birds & breath of the fflowers,
 & what for waching & wakinge & wandering about 35
 in my seate where I sate I sayed a sleepe;
 lying edgelong on the ground, list all my seluen,
 deepe dreames and dright droue mee to hart.
 Methought walking *that* I was in a wood stronge,
 vpon a great mountaine where mores were large, 40
that I might see on euerye side 17 miles,
 both of woods & wasts & walled townes,
 comelye castles & cleare with caruen towers,
 parkes & pallaces & pastures ffull many,
 all the world full of welth vunlye to behold. 45
 I sett me downe softlye and sayd these words:
 "I will not kere out of kythe before I know more."
 & I wayted me about wonders to know
 & [a] ffayrlye beffell soe fayre me bethought:
 I saw on the south syde a seemelye sight 50

24. *Riches* for *richest*—P. and Po. But Cf. *comlyes*, 202, and *es* for *est* in the second person singular indicative of the verb.

25. *Land*. See Glossary.

37. *List* for *lift*, left alone? Sk. See note.

45. *Vunlye*, forte winlye, i. e., pleasantly, jucunde. Lye—P. *viewlye*?—F. The MS. reading is certainly not *winlye*; we read *vunlye*. See Glossary.

49. MS. *I = it?*—P. York Powell suggests that *I* should be *a*.

50. F reads *saw*. *Saw* and *saye* are the two forms of the preterit of *see*. Cf. lines 151, 211.

of comelye knights full keene & knights full noble,
 princes in the presse proudlye attyred,
 dukes *that* were doughtye & many deere erles,
 sweeres & swaynes, *that* swarmed full thicke.
 There was neither hill nor holte nor haunt there beside 55
 but itt was planted full of people, the plaine and the rough.
 There ouer *that* oste estward I looked
 into a boolish banke, the brightest of other,
that shimered and shone as the sheere heauen
 throughe the light of a Ladye *that* longed therin. 60
 Shee came cheereing full comlye with companye noble,
 vpon cleare clothes, were all of cleare gold,
 layd brode vpon the bent with brawders full riche,
 before *that* ffayre on the ffeeld where shee fforth passed.
 Shee was brighter of her blee then was the bright sonn, 65
 her rudd redder then the rose *that* on the rise hangeth,
 meekely smiling with her mouth & merry in her lookes,
 euer laughing for loue as she like wold;
 & as shee came by the bankes the boughes eche one
 they lowted to *that* Ladye & layd forth their branches. 70
 Blossomes & burgens breathed full sweete,
 fflowes flourished in the frith where she fforth steppedd,
 & the grasse *that* was gray greened belue.
 Breame birds on the boughes busilye did singe
 & all the wild in the wood winlye the ioyed. 75
 Kings kneeled on their knees knowing *that* Ladye,
 & all the princes in the presse & the proud dukes,
 barrons & bachelours all they bowed full lowe;
 all profrereth her to please, the pore and the riche.
 Shee welcometh them ffull winlye with wordes ffull hend, 80
 both barnes & birds, beastes & fowles.

Then *that* lowly Ladye, on land where schee standeth,
that was comelye cladd in kirtle & mantle

61. *Companye*. Only half of the *n* in the *ms*.

82. *Lovly* = *lovely*—P. and Po. But *v* and *w* are confused in this poem.
 Cf. *vunlye*, 45, and see note.

of goodlyest greene *that* euer groome ware,
 for the kind of *that* cloth can noe clarke tell; 85
 & shee the most gracyous groome *that* on the ground longed;
 of her druryes to deeme to dull be my witts,
 & the price of her [perrie] can no p[erson] tell,
 & the colour of her kirtle was caruen ffull lowe,
that her blisfull breastes bearnes might behold, 90
 with a naked necke *that* neighed her till,
that gaue light on the land as beames of the sunn.
 All the *kings* christened with their cleere gold
 might not buy *that* ilke broche *that* buckeled her mantle,
 & the crowne on her head was caruen in heauen, 95
 with a scepter sett in her hand of selcoth gemmes.
 Thus louelye to looke vpon on land shee abydeth.
 Merry were the meanye of men *that* shee had,
 blyth bearnes of blee bright as the sunn:
 Sir Comfort *that* knight when the court dineth, 100
 Sir Hope & Sir Hind, yee sturdye beene both,
 Sir Liffe & Sir Likinge & Sir Loue alsoe,
 Sir Cunninge & Sir Curtesye *that* curteous were of deeds,
 & Sir Honor ouer all vnder her seluen,
 a stout man & a staleworth, her steward I-wisse. 105
 She had ladyes of loue longed her about:
 Dame Mirth & Dame Meekenes & Dame Mercy the hynd,
 Dallyance & Disport, 2 damsells ffull sweete,
 with all beawtye [&] blisse bearnes to behold.
 There was minstrelsy made in full many a wise, 110

88. Some word, probably a word beginning with *p*, has obviously been omitted by the copyist. "It is surely the word *perrie*, precious stones, never missed in describing ladies."—Sk. This reading is very probable. See note.

P = *Person*—*P*. The word is just as likely to be *Prince*, a word frequently used in this poem.

90. *Might*. The *m* has a short extra stroke at the beginning which makes it resemble an imperfect *nn*.

103. *Cunninge*, one stroke too few in the *ms.*—*F*. The last *n* lacks a stroke or this stroke coincides with the first stroke of the *g*.

109. & has certainly been omitted after *beawtye*. Cf. l. 242.

who-soe had craft or cuninge kindlye to showe,
 both of birds & beastes & bearnes in the leaues;
 & ffishes of the flood ffaine of her were;
 birds made merrye with their mouth, as they in mind cold.
 Tho I was moued with *that* mirth that maruell mee thought; 115
 what woman *that* was that all the world lowted,
 I thought speedilye to spye, speede if I might.

Then I kered to a knight, Sir Comfort the good,
 kneeling low on my knees curteouslye him prayesd.
 I willed him of his worshipp to witt me the sooth 120
 of yonder *Ladye* of loue & of her royall meanye.
 Hee cherished me cheerlye by cheeke & by chin,
 & sayd, " Certes, my sonne, the sooth thou shalt knowe.
 This is my Lady Dame Liffe *that* leadeth vs all;
 shee is worthy & wise, the welder of ioye, 125
 greatlye gouerneth the ground & the greene grasse.
 Shee hath ffostered & ffed thee sith thou was ffirst borne,
 & yett beffore thou wast borne shee bred in thy hart.
 Thou art welcome, I-wisse, vnto my winn Ladye.
 If thou wilt wonders witt feare not to ffraigne 130
 & I shall kindlye thee ken, care thou noe more."
 Then I was fearfull enoughe & ffaythfullye thought
that I shold long with Dame Liffe & loue her for euer;
 there shall no man vpon mold my mind from her take
 for all the glitteringe gold vnder the god of heauen. 135

Thus in liking this liuinge (the longer the more)
 till *that* it neighed neere noone & one hower after
 there was rydinge & revell *that* ronge in the bankes;
 all the world was full woe winne to behold.
 Or itt turned from 12 till 2 of the clocke 140
 much of this melodye was maymed & marde.
 In a nooke of the north there was a noyse hard
 as itt had beene a horne, the highest of others,
 with the biggest bere *that* euer bearne wist,

117-119. These lines are incorrectly written as four lines in the MS.

136. F. emends *Longer* to *Longed*. But see Glossary and note.

& the burlyest blast *that* euer blowne was 145
 throughe the rattlinge rout runge ouer the ffeelds;
 the ground gogled for greeffe of *that* grim dame.
 I went nere out of my witt for wayling care.
 Yett I bode on the bent & boldlye looked;
 once againe into the north mine eye then I cast. 150
 I there saye a sight was sorrowfull to behold,
 one of the vglyest ghosts *that* on the earth gone.
 There was no man of this sight but hee was affrayd,
 soe grislye & great & grim to behold.
 & a quintfull queene came quakinge before, 155
 with a carued crowne on her head, all of pure gold,
 & shee the ffoulest ffreake *that* formed was euer,
 both of hide & hew & heare alsoe.
 Shee was naked as my nayle both aboue & belowe;
 shee was lapped about in linenn breeches; 160
 a more fearfull face no freake might behold,
 for shee was long & leane & lodlye to see.
 There was noe man on the mold soe mightye of strenght
 but a looke of *that* Lady & his liſſe passed.
 Her eyes farden as the fyer *that* in the furnace burnes; 165
 they were hollow in her head with full heauye browes;
 her cheekes were leane, with lipps full side,
 with a maruelous mouth full of long tushes,
 & the nebb of her nose to her navell hanged,
 & her lere like the lead *that* latelye was beaten. 170
 Shee bare in her right hand & vnrid weapon,
 a bright burnisht blade all bloody beronen,
 & in the left hand, like the legg of a grype,
 with the talents *that* were touchinge & teenfull enough.
 With *that* shee burnisht vp her brand & bradd out her geere; 175

151. *Saye.* F. reads *saw*, but the MS. certainly has *saye*. See line 50 and textual note.

165. *Her.* MS. *his* is probably due to attraction from the preceding line. The pronouns in this poem are greatly confused. Cf. lines 192, 322, 393, etc.

171. *d* for *an*—P.

& I for feare of *that* freake fell in a swond.
 Had not Sir Comfort come & my care stinted,
 I had beene slaine with *that* sight of *that* sorrowfull Ladye.
 Then he lowted to me low & learned me well;
 sayd, "Be thou not abashed, but abyde there a while; 180
 here may thou sitt & see selclothes full manye.
 Yonder damsell is Death *that* dresseth her to smyte.
 Loe, Pryde passeth before & the price beareth,
 many sorrowfull souldiers following her fast after:
 both Enuye & Anger, in their yerne weeds, 185
 Morninge & Mone, Sir Mis[c]heefe his ffeere,
 Sorrow & Sicknesse & Siking in Hart;
 all *that* were lothinge of their liffe were lent to her court.
 When she draweth vp her darts & dresseth her to smite,
 there is no groome vnder God may garr her to stint. 190
 Then I blushed to *that* bearne & balefully looked;
 [s]he stepped forth barefooted on the bents browne,
 the greene grasse in her gate she grindeth all to powder,
 trees tremble for feare & tipen to the ground,
 leaues lighten downe lowe & leauen their might, 195
 fowles faylen to flee when the heard wapen,
 & the ffishes in the fflood ffaylen to swimme
 ffor dread of Dame Death *that* dolefullye threates.
 With *that* shee hyeth to the hill & the heard ffindeth;
 in the roughest of the rout shee reacheth forth darts. 200
 There shee fell att the first flappe 1500
 of comelyes queenes with crowne & kings full noble;
 proud princes in the presse prestlye shee quellethe;

186. MS. *Misheefe*. F. prints *Mis[c]heefe*.

188. *Lent*, led?—P. MS. *letit*, or a *t* crossed through for the first stroke of an *n*—F. I read the MS. as *let*—undotted *i*—*t*, or better, as *lent*, with *n* written over a *t*. See Glossary.

192. MS. *he* for *she*—P. Cf. lines 165 and 393. *He*, of course, may be feminine, but since this is the only occurrence of the form in the poem, we think it more likely that the copyist has miswritten the original *she*. See note.

197. MS. *Swimme* is possibly a miswriting for *swimme*.

of dukes *that* were doughtye shee dang out the braynes;
 merry maydens on the mold shee mightilye killethe; 205
 there might no weapon them warrant nor no walled towne;
 younge children in their craddle they dolefullye dyen;
 shee spareth ffor no specyaltie but spilleth the gainest;
 the more woe shee worketh more mightye shee seemeth.

When my Lady Dame Liffe looked on her deeds 210
 & saw how dolefullye shee dunge downe her people,
 shee cast vp a crye to the hye King of heauen.

& he hearkneth itt hendlye in his hye throne;
 he called on Countenance & bade his course take,
 "Ryde thou to the reschew of yonder wrought Ladye." 215
 Hee was bowne att his bidd & bradd on his way,
that wight as the wind *that* wappeth in the skye.

He ran out of the rainebow through the ragged clouds
 & light on the land where the lords [lay] slaine,
 & vnto dolefull Death he dresses him to speake; 220
 sayth, "Thou wrathefull *Queene that* euer woe worketh,
 cease of thy sorrow thy soueraigne comandeth,
 & let thy burnished blade on the bent rest,
that my Lady Dame Liffe her likinge may haue."

Then Death glowed & gran for gryme of her talke, 225
 but shee did as shee dained, durst shee noe other;
 shee pight the poynt of her sword in the plaine earth,
 & with a looke full layeth shee looked on the hills.

Then my Ladye Dame Liffe shee looketh full gay,
 kyreth to Countenance & him comelye thanks, 230
 kissed kindlye *that knight*, then carped she no more;
 but vnto dolefull Death she dresseth her to speake;
 sayth: "Thou woefull wretch, weaknesse of care,
 bold birth full of bale, bringer of sorrowe,
 dame daughter of the devill, Death is thy name: 235
 but if thy fare be thy fairer the feend haue thy soule.

218. *Rainebow*. The *w* is made over a *y* in the MS.—F.

219. Some word, probably a word beginning with *l*, has been omitted by the scribe. We adopt F's emendation.

Coudest thou any cause find, thou kaitiffe wretch,
 that neither reason nor wright may raigne with thy name?
 Why kills thou the body *that* neuer care rought?
 The grasse nor the greene trees greeued the neuer, 240
 but come fforth in their kinds Christyans to helpe,
 with all beawtye & blisse *that* barne might devise.
 But of my meanye thou marreth marveild I haue
 how thou dare doe them to death, eche day soe manye,
 & the handy worke of him *that* heauen weldeth. 245
 How keepeth thou his comandements, thou kaytiffe retch!
 Wheras banely hee them blessed & biddeth them thrive,
 waxe fforth in the wor[l]d & worth vnto manye,
 & thou lett them of their leake with thy lidder turnes.
 But with wondering & with woe thou waiteth them full yorne, 250
 & as a theefe in a rout thou throngeth them to death,
that neither Nature nor I ffor none of thy deeds
 may bring vp our bearnes, their bale thee betyde.
 But if thou blinn of *that* bine thou buy must full deere;
 they may wary the weeke *that* euer thou wast fformed." 255
 Then Death dolefullye drew vp her browes,
 armed her to answer & vpright shee standeth,
 & sayd: "O louely Liffe, cease thou such wordes.
 Thou payneth thee with pratinge to pray me to cease.
 Itt is reason & right *that* I may rent take, 260
 thus to kill of the kind both *kings* & dukes,
 loyall ladds & liuelye, of ilke sort some;
 all shall drye with the dints *that* I deale with my hands.
 I wold haue kept the comandement of the hye *King* of heauen,
 but the bearne itt brake *that* thou bred vp ffirst 265
 when Adam & Eue of the earth were shapen,

242. *ms. harme*. "The alliteration requires *b*; and *h* is continually miswritten for *b*. It should be *barne* = *bearne* (265)"—Sk. So also Po.

248. *ms. word* for *world*—Po.

250. *Wondering*, only half of the last *n* in the *ms*.

251. *ms. then* for *them*.

259. The *t* of *pratinge* is written over the *s* in the *ms*. F. reads *prasinge*.

266. The *e* of *Eue* has a tag on the end like an *r*—F.

& were put into paradise to play with their selues,
 & were brought into blisse, bidd if the wold.
 He warned them nothing in the world but a wretched branche
 of the ffayntyest ffruit *that* euer in ffrith grew. 270
 Yett his bidding they brake, as the booke recordeth.
 When Eue fell to the ffruite with ffingars white
 & plucked them of the plant & poysoned them both,
 I was ffaine of *that* ffray, my ffawchyon I gryped
 & delt Adam such a dint *that* hee dolue euer after. 275
 Eue & her ofspring I hitt them I hope;
 for all the musters *that* they made I mett with them once.
 Therefore, Liffe, thou me leaue, I loue thee but a litle;
 I hate thee & thy houshold & thy hyndes all.
 Mee gladdeth not of their glee nor of their gay lookes; 280
 att thy dalliance & thy disport noe daynty I haue;
 thy ffayre liffe & thy ffairenesse ffeareth me but litle;
 thy blisse is my bale breuelye of others,
 there is no game vnder heauen soe gladlye I wishe
 as to haue a slapp with my ffawchyon att thy fayre state." 285

[II]

Then Liffe on the land ladylike shee speakes:
 sayth, "These words thou hast wasted, wayte thou no other;
 shall thy bitter brand neuer on my body byte.
 I am grounded in God & grow for euermore;
 but to these men of the mold marvell methinketh 290
 in whatt hole of thy hart thou thy wrath keepeth.
 Where ioy & gentlenesse are ioyned together

269. *Wretched*. The *r* is written over some other letter.

283. *Breuelye*. *Bremelye?*—P. The fourth letter may be an *n*, but is more likely *u*, as F. reads it.

286. The scribe has bracketed lines 286-291 and has written "2 fitt" in the margin.

292. The *i* of *ioyned* has an accent on it as if for a *o*—F.

betweene a wight & his wiffe & his winne children,
 & when ffaith & ffellowshipp are ffastened ffor aye,
 loue & charitye, which our Lord likethe, 295
 then thou waleth them with wracke & wratheffully beginneth;
 vncurteouslye thou cometh, vnknowne of them all,
 & lacheth away the land *that* the lord holdeth,
 or wories his wiffe or walts downe his children.
 Mikle woe thus thou waketh where mirth was before. 300
 This is a deed of the devill, Death, thou vsest.
 But if thou leaue not thy lake & learne thee a better,
 thou wilt lach att the last a lothelich name."

"Doe away, damsell," quoth Death; "I dread thee nought.
 Of my losse *that* I losse lay thou noe thought; 305
 thou prouet mee full prestlye of many *proper* thinge;
 I haue not all kinds soe ill as thou me vpbraydest.
 Where I wend on my way the world will depart,
 bearnes wold be ouer bold bales ffor to want,
 the 7 sinnes for to serue & sett them full euer, 310
 & giue no glory vnto God, *that* sendeth vs all grace.
 If the dint of my dart deared them neuer,
 to lett them worke all their will itt were litle ioy.
 Shold I for their fayrnesse their ffoolishnes allowe?
 My Liffe (giue thou me leaue), noe leed vpon earth 315
 but I shall master his might, mauger his cheekes,
 as a conquerour keene, biggest of other,
 to deale dolefull dints & doe as my list;
 for I fayled neuer in fight but I the ffeild wan,
 sith the ffirst ffreake *that* formed was euer, 320
 & will not leaue till the last bee on the beere layd.
 But sitt sadlye, thou Liffe, & the soothe thou shalt know.
 If euer any man vpon mold any mirth had,
that leaped away with thee, Liffe, & laughed me to scorne,

293. *a wight*, MS. *his wight*, probably by attraction from the following *his*. So also Po.

315. The parentheses are in the MS.

322. MS. *thy Liffe*. *Thy* for *thou*—P. Cf. lines 165, 192, and 393.

but I dang them with my dints vnto the derffe earthe. 325
 Both Adam & Eue & Abell I killed,
 Moyases & Methasula & the meeke Aronn,
 Iosua & Ioseph & Iacob the smoothe,
 Abraham & Isace & Esau the roughe;
 Samuell, for all his ffingers, I slew with my hands, 330
 & Ionathan, his gentle sonne, in Gilboa hills;
 David dyed on the dints *that* I delt oft;
 soe did Salomon, his sonne, *that* was sage holden,
 & Alexander alsoe, to whom all the world lowted;
 in the middest of his mirth I made him to bow; 335
 the hye honor *that* he had helped him but litle.
 When I swang him on the swire to swelt him behoued.
 Arthur of England & Hector the keene,
 both Lancelott & Leonades, with other leeds manye,
 & Gallaway the good *Knight* & Gawaine the hynde, 340
 & all the rowte I rent ffrom the round table;
 was none soe hardye nor soe hye, soe holy nor soe wicked,
 but I burst them with my brand & brought them assunder.
 How shold any wight weene to winn me on ground?
 Haue not I iusted gentlye with Iesu of heauen? 345
 He was frayd of my fface in ffreshest of time.
 Yett I knocked him on the crosse & carued throughe his hart."
 & with *that* shee cast of her crowne & kneeled downe lowe
 when shee minned the name of *that* noble Prince.
 Soe did Liffe vpon land & her leeds all, 350
 both of heauen & of earth & of hell ffeends;
 all they lowted downe lowe their *Lord* to honor.
 Then Liffe kneeled on her knees with her crowne in her hand,
 & looketh vp a long while towards the hye heauen;
 she riseth vpp rudlye & dresseth her to speake; 355

355. *Rudlye*. For *radyle*, A. S. *radlice*, quickly, speedily!—F. Po. and Holt. emend to *radlye*. The tips of the *u* are close together and the second letter, therefore, may be read as an imperfect *a*. Both *radlye* and *rudlye* are often used in alliteration with *rise*. *Rudlye rise*, although not quite so common as *radlye rise*, is perfectly intelligible.

shee calleth to her companye & biddeth them come neere,
 both kings and queenes & comelye dukes:
 " Worke wisely by your witts my words to heare,
 that I speake ffor your speed & spare itt noe longer."
 Then shee turneth to them & talketh these words: 360
 she sayth, " Dame Death, of thy deeds now is thy doome shapen
 through thy wittles words that thou hast carped,
 which thou makest with thy mouth & mightlye avowes.
 Thou hast blowen thy blast breemlye abroad;
 how hast thou wasted this world sith wights were first, 365
 euer murdered & marde, thou makes thy avant.
 Of one point lett vs proue or wee part in sunder:
 how didest thou iust att Ierusalem with Iesu my Lord?
 Where thou deemed his deat[h] in one dayes time,
 there was thou shamed & shent & stripped ffor aye. 370
 When thou saw the King come with the crosse on his shoulder,
on the top of Caluarye thou camest him against;
like a traytour vntrew, treason thou thought.
 Thou layd vpon my leege Lord lotheliche hands,
 sithen beate him on his body & buffeted him rightlye, 375
 till the railing red blood ran from his sides;
 sith rent him on the rood with ffull red wounds.
 To all the woes that him wasted (I wott not ffew),
 tho deemedst to haue beene dead & dressed for euer.
 but, Death, how didst thou then with all thy derffe words, 380
 when thou prickedst att his pappe with the poynt of a speare,
 & touched the tabernackel of his trew hart
 where my bower was bigged to abyde for euer?

356. *ms. thenn.*

364. *Breemlye* is Percy's suggestion. The *ms.* has *breemlye* or *breitlye* (undotted *i*). The word is therefore *breemlye* or *breeulye*. Since the alliterative group *blow-blast-breemlye* is so common, we read *breemlye* with P., Po., and F.

369. *ms. deat.* F. prints *deat[h]*.

376. *Sides.* F. prints *s[i]des*. But the *i* is dotted. The imperfect letter is *d*, which lacks the first stroke.

379. *Tho.* See note.

When the glory of his godhead glented in thy face,
 then was thou feard of this fare in thy false hart ; 385
 then thou hyed into hell hole, to hyde thee belive;
 thy fawchon flew out of thy fist, soe fast thou thee hyed.
 Thou durst not blushe once backe, for better or worse,
 but drew thee downe ffull in *that* deepe hell,
 & bade them barre bigglye Belzebub his gates. 390
 Then the told them tydands *that* teened them sore,
 how *that King* came to kithen his strenght,
 & how [he] had beaten thee on thy bent & thy brand taken,
 with euerlasting Liffe *that* longed him till.
 Then the sorrow was ffull sore att Sathans hart ; 395
 hee threw ffeends in the ffyer, many ffell thousands;
 & Death, thou dange itt on whilest thou dree might;
 for ffalte of thy ffawchyon, thou fought with thy hand.
 Bost this neuer of thy red deeds, thou ravished bitches!
 Thou may shrinke for shame when thou the sooth heares. 400
 Then I leapt to my Lord *that* caught me vpp soone,
 & all wounded as hee was, with weapon in hand,
 he fastened ffoote vpon earth & ffollowed thee ffast
 till he came to the caue *that* cursed was holden.
 He abode before Barathron *that* bearne while he liked, 405
that was euer merke as midnight with mourni[n]ge & sorrowe;
 he cast a light on the land as beames on the sunn.
 Then cryed *that King* with a cleere steuen,
 ‘ Pull open your ports, you princes within;
 here shall come in the *King* crowned with ioy, 410
 which is the hiest burne, in battell to smite.’
 There was ffleringe of ffeends throughe the fyer gaynest,
 hundreds hurled on heapes in holes about.
 The broad gates all of brasse brake all in sunder
 & the *King* with his crosse came in before. 415

393. ms. *he* for *she*. Cf. lines 165, 192, and 322.

400. The Hales-Furnivall text inadvertently omits the second *thou*.

401. *that* is written over the abbreviation for *and*.

406. ms. *mournige*.

He leapt vnto Lucifer *that* Lord himselfe;
 then he went to the tower where chaynes were manye,
 & bound him soe biglye *that* hee for bale rored.
 Death, thou daredst *that* day & durst not be seene
 ffor all the glittering gold vnder god himseluen. 420

Then to the tower hee went where chanes are many;
 hee tooke Adam & Eue out of the old world,
 Abraham & Isaac & all *that* hee wold,
 David & Danyell & many deare bearnes
that were put into prison & pained ffull long. 425

Hee betooke me the treasure *that* neuer shall haue end,
that neuer danger of death shold me deere after.
 Then wee wenten fforth winlye together
 & left the dungeon of devills & thee, Death, in the midst.
 & now thou prickes ffor pride, praising thy seluen. 430

Therefore bee not abashed, my barnes soe deere,
 of her ffauchyon soe ffeirce nor of her ffell words.
 Shee hath noe might, nay no meane, no more you to greeue,
 nor on your comelye corsses to clapp once her hands.
 I shall looke you ffull liuelye, & latche ffull well 435

& keere yee further of this kithe aboue the cleare skyes.
 If yee [loue] well the Ladye *that* light in the mayden,
 & be christened with creame & in your creede beleuee,
 haue no doubt of yonder Death, my deare children,
 for yonder is damned with devills to dwell, 440

where is wondering & woe & wayling ffor sorrow.
 Death was damned *that* day, daring ffull still.
 Shee hath no might, nay no maine, to meddle with yonder ost,
 against euerlasting Liffe *that* Ladye soe true."

Then my Lady Dame Liffe with lookes soe gay, 445

437. Some word has been omitted by the scribe. P. suggests *serue* or *loue*. We supply *loue*, as Po. and F. suggest.

440. The Hales-Furnivall text supplies *death* after *yonder*. But since *yonder* is used absolutely, *death* is not necessary for the meaning, the alliteration, or the metre.

445. *With*. The scribe wrote *vp* and then added *th* without changing the *vp* to *w*. *Vpon* is never abbreviated in this poem.

that was comelye cladd with kirtle and mantle,
 ſhee crosses the companye with her cleare ffingers.
 All the dead on the ground doughtilye ſhee rayseth
 fairer by 2 ffold then they before were. [450
 With *that* ſhee hyeth ouer the hills with hundreds ffull manye.
 I wold have ffollowed on *that* faire, but no further I might;
 what with wandering & with woe I waked belieu.
 Thus fared I throw a ffrith in a ffresh time,
 where I ſayd a ſleepe in a ſlade greene.
 There dreamed I the dreame with dread all befrighted. 455
 But hee *that* rent all was on the rood riche itt himſeluen.
 & bringe vs to his bliſſe with bleſſings enowe!
 Therto, Ieſu of Ieruſalem, grant vs thy grace,
 & ſaue there our howſe holy for euer! Amen.

ffinis.

446. *Kirtle*. MS. *christall*. Cf. ll. 83 and 89.

447. This line was accidentally omitted in the H.-F. text.

450. *Manye*. The *n* is imperfect in the MS.

452. *Wandering*. There is only one stroke for the last *n* in the MS., or the first stroke of the *g* is written over part of the *n*.

455. *With*. MS. *which*.

NOTES

P.=Percy (notes recorded in the Folio ms. and reprinted in the Hales-Furnivall edition), Sk.=Skeat (notes in the Hales-Furnivall edition), F.=Furnivall (*ibid.*), Po.=York Powell (*Eng. Stud.*, vii, 97-101), Br.=Brotanek (*Anglia Beiblatt*, xiii, 176-177), Holt.=Holthausen (*Anglia Beiblatt*, xxiii, 157-159). The quotations from *Piers Plowman* are from the C version.

1 ff. Cf. *The Crowned King*, 1:

Crist, crowned kyng that on cros didest.

A similar invocation is to be found in *Morte Arthure*.

2. *hadd paines*. Po., Br., and Holt. read "hard paines." The syntax does not demand the change.

deffend. Po. reads "preserve." Holt. "repair" to improve the alliteration. But the type of line without alliteration in the second half is common enough. See the section on Metre in the Introduction.

4. Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 3990:

This ryalle rede blode ryne appone erthe.

5 ff. The text here is very puzzling. Perhaps the meaning is "give us grace to serve thee . . . and to take to ourselves thy joyous word, as the world, with its riches etc., demands that we should do." The phrase "as the world asketh" is a commonplace. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, I, 21:

Worchynge and wandrynge as the worlde asketh.

Also *Morte Arthure*:

werke nowe thi wirchipe as the worlde askes (2187).

6. Cf. *Parlement*, 634:

Ne ther is reches ne rent may rawnsome *3our* lyves.

9. *worthes to nought*. Cf. *Parlement*, 637:

Me thynke þe wele of this werlde worthes to noghte.

13. Cf. *Scottish Feilde*, 87 and 203:

thus he promised to the prince [*that* paradise weldeth].

Also *Winnere and Wastoure*, 296:

It es plesynge to the prynce þat paradyse wroghte.

16. *thou shalt byterlye bye*. Po. reads "bye it," a suggestion which is supported by *Piers Plowman*, B III, 249 (not in C):

Shal abie it bittere or the boke lyeth!

But the verb is not always transitive. Cf. 254 and *Piers Plowman*, **xxi**, 448: Thow shalt abygge bittere.

20. Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 4:

and gyffe vs grace to gye, and gouerne vs here.

21. The line is substantially repeated in *Scottish Feilde*, 421:

Iesus bring vs to blisse ~~that~~ brought vs forth of bala.

22-39. Compare the very similar description in the *Parlement*, 7-16, and in *Winnere and Wastoure*.

24. Cf. *Parlement*, 119:

Raylede alle with rede rose, richeste of floures.

Variants of this line are constantly repeated in alliterative poetry. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 624:

As the Roose in his Radness is Richest of floures;

Morte Arthure, 3457:

A reedde actone of rosse the richeste of floures;

and *Scottish Feilde*, 26:

rayled full of red roses and riches enowe.

28. As *I there glode*. Holt. would read "as I glode there." But the second accented syllable in the second half line sometimes bears the alliteration. Cf. 311 and see the section on Metre.

30. *I settled me to sitt*. Po. reads "I fettled me to sit" in the interests of the metre. Cf. *Parlement*, 20:

And ferkes faste to her fourme & fatills her to sitt.

But the double alliteration a a / b b is very common, there being ten other such cases in *D. & L.* See Metre, type VI.

For the expression cf. *Scottish Feilde*, 254 and 257:

at the ffoot of a fine hill they setteled them all night . . .

bidd them settle them to fight or they wold fare homeward.

The emendation *settled* > *fettled* would help the metre here as well as in *D. & L.*, but the author certainly wrote *settled*.

31. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, **xix**, 184: As hor as an hawethorn.

In *Winnere and Wastoure* the author lies down on a hill beside a hawthorn.

32. *I bent my booke to the bole*. Cf. *Parlement*, 39:

And to the bole of a birche my berselett I cowchide.

33. Powell says this line is all wrong. "The sense is 'as I looked about me for a time under the green hawthorne'; the p-words are misreadings of the scribe. The original he had before him must have had two g-words instead." The inconsistency to which Po. objects is, however, simply an instance of a characteristic confusion of expression due to the tyranny of the alliterative phrase. Cf. 37, "lying Edgelong on the ground," which

does not suit with "I bent my back to the bole." The alliteration, moreover, is perfectly correct. See note to 30.

34. Cf. *Winnere*, 44:

for din of the depe watir and dadillyng of fewllys;

William of Palerne, 23:

& briddes ful bremely on þe bowes singe.

36. *I sayed a sleepe*. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 679: þat all sad were on sleepe; and *Child Waters*, 30, 3-4:

For there is noe place about this house
Where I may say a sleepe.

37. *list all my seluen*. *List* is probably miswritten for *lift* = *left* as Sk. and Po. suggest.

39-45. An elaboration of *Piers Plowman*, I, 14-21. See Introduction, p. 247.

40. *upon a great mountaine*. Schumacher (*op. cit.*) would alter *great* to *mikle*. But one alliteration in each half line is common enough in this poem, as Schumacher himself points out.

43. *comelye castles & Cleare*. Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 3674:

Castelles fulle comliche, that coloured ware faire!

Golagrus and Gowain, 366, has a similar alliterative group.

46. *I sett me downe softlye*. Po. would emend "Then I set me downe softlye." But the half line scans easily as it stands: x'x x'x. For the type see Luick, *Anglia*, XI, 402 ff.

48. & *I wayted me about*. Cf. *Parlement*, 46: And wayttede wittily abowte; and 657:

And I wakkened therwith and waytted me vmbe,

and *Piers Plowman*, I, 16: westwarde ich waitede.

49. *Piers Plowman*, B, Prologue, 6 (not in the C text):

me bifel a ferly of fairye me thouȝte,

affords a model for the emendation of this obviously corrupt line of the ms. We have followed Powell's reading in the text.

51. & *knights full noble*. P. suggests *kings*. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 7844:

Kyngis in his company & knyghtes full nobill.

53. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 84:

Of Dukes full doughty and of derffe Erles.

56. *the plaine and the roughe*, i. e., plain and hill. The reference is to *holte and hill* above, not to *people*.

57. *Estward I looked*. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, I, 14: Esteward ich byhulde.

58. *brightest of other*; i. e., the brightest of any. Cf. 317 and *Scottish Feilde*, 48: "most peerlesse of other," and *Destruction of Troy*, 2433, 4050, and 7865.

61 ff. Skeat compares the vision of Lady Meed, *Piers Plowman*, III, 8-18. But see Introduction, p. 251.

Okeering full comlye. Po.'s alteration, *kayringe*, is inappropriate. *Ok* commonly alliterates with *o=k*. Cf. Luick, *Anglia*, XI, 602 ff., Schumacher, *op. cit.*, and Glossary.

62. *upon cleare clothes.* Both Sk. and Po. fail to understand the passage. The sense is "walking on bright cloths which were all of clear gold, laid broadly upon the field, etc." The relative pronoun is often omitted before *were*.

66. *her rudd redder than the rose.* Cf. *Awntyrs of Arthure*, XIII.

For my rud was raddur than rose of the ron.

70. *they lowted to that Ladye.* Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 9253: Than he lut to þe lady.

71. Cf. *Parlement*, 11:

Burgons & blossoms & braunches full swete,

and *Destruction of Troy*, 2736:

burions of bowes brethit full swete.

72. *flowers flourished in the frith.* Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 924:

The frithez were floreschte with flourez fulle many.

78. *Barrons & bachelours.* The identical phrase occurs in *Wars of Alexander*, 155.

82. *lowly Ladye.* Probably for "lovely Ladye." So. P. and Po. Cf. 258.

83-4. *in kirtle and mantle of goodlyest greene.* Cf. *Parlement*, 122: He was gerede alle in greene; and see the whole description of the bejewelled figure in the *Parlement* representing Youth. For a discussion of the second line and its relation to the mystic garment of Natura see Introduction, p. 250. Cf. also *Winnere and Wastoure*, 90:

This kynge was comliche clade in kirtill and mantill.

86. A similar line occurs in *Morte Arthure*, 3877:

and the graciouseste gome that vndire God lyffede.

Cf. *D. & L.*, 190, "no groome under God."

8. & the price of her [perrie]. Sk's suggestion for the lacuna in the *ms.* is confirmed by *Parlement*, 129:

Þe price of that perry were worthe powndes full many.

The line occurs in the description of Youth and is pretty certainly the original of the line in *D. & L.* Cf. *Parlement*, 192:

The pryce of thi perrye wolde purches the londes.

92. *as beames of the sun.* The commentators are agreed that *beames* here and in line 407 is a "stupid alteration of *leames*." Sk. says "the conjecture is changed to certainty by *Scottish Feilde*, 309:

with leames full light all the land over.

95. Schumacher calls attention to the cross alliteration: a b / a b.

98 ff. Skeat thinks that Lady Liffe and her train are to be identified with Langland's Lady Anima and her attendants, Sir Seewel, Sir Seiwel, Sir Huyrewel the hende, etc. See Introduction. The *Death and Liffe* author has developed the assemblage in accordance with the traditional conception of the Court of Love.

100. *Sir Comfort that Knight*. "Sir Comfort their (or her) Chamberlain"—Po. This emendation makes the sense easier, but there is no assurance that the author did not write the line as it stands. Cf. the awkwardness of 101.

In *Piers Plowman*, XXXIII, 91, the "lord that lyuede after lust" cries out to "Comfort, a knyght" to bear his banner against death.

101. *yee sturdye been both*. Yee should be "that" or "who" according to Po. (i. e., the abbreviation *yt* may have been misread by the scribe). But possibly *yee* = *yea*; or the expression may stand as it is, the half line being parenthetical with a shift in point of view characteristic enough of the author's style.

109. *beautye* [d] *blisse*. Cf. line 242.

110 ff. With this description of the effects of Lady Liffe's presence on living things compare the parallels with Alanus de Insulis' *De Planctu Nature*, given in the Introduction, p. 250.

112. Br. reads "both bearnes and beastes and birds in the leaues." *Of delend*.—P. But *of* = *by* and is required by the verb *made* in line 110.

116. *what woman that was*. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, II, 68: "what womman hue were."

"The failure of a poet at first to recognize his allegorical visitant had by this time (i. e., the date of *The Pearl*) become almost a convention." See Schofield, "The Nature and Fabric of the Pearl," *P. M. L. A.* XIX, 1, 179. Schofield cites as examples *Philosophia* in Boethius, *Reason* in *The Romance of the Rose*, *Holichurche* in *Piers Plowman*. We may add *Natura* in Alanus' *De Planctu*.

119. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, II, 76:

Thanne knelede ich on my knees and criede hure of grace,
And preiede hure pytously.

Sk. infers that "praysed" should be "prayed." Cf. also *Piers Plowman*, III, 1.

122. *hee cherished me cheerlye*, i. e., Comfort fondled me lovingly.

127-8. *fostered & fed*. The phrase is commonplace. Cf. *Wm. of Palerne*, 243: *pei han me fostered and fed*. Also *ibid* 318 and 356, and *Winnere*, 206. The recurrence of the expression renders unimportant Skeat's parallel from the description of *Holichurche*, *Piers Plowman*, II, 73: "Ich vnderfeng the formest." The idea, "I nourished you even before your birth," points clearly to the conception in Alanus, *De Planctu*, of *Natura* as the source of man's physical life. Skeat cites also *Piers Plowman*, B, IX, 55, where it is said of Lady Anima:

Ac in the herte is hir home and hir moste reste.

Cf. C, xi, 173:

Inwitt is in the hefd as Anima in the herte.

130. Po. would read "feare not to frayne if thou wilt fferlyes wit." But see note to line 30.

131. & I shall kindlye thee ken. Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 3521:

kene thou me kyndely whatte caase es be-fallene.

135. Cf. 421. Also *Scottish Feilde*, 103:

for all the gloring gold vnder the god of heauen.

136-7. *the longer the more*. We have retained the MS. reading. The Hales-Furnivall text reads "the longed." Holt. says that "I" is obviously to be substituted for "the." The passage, however, may be read as it stands: "Thus in the enjoyment of this living (the longer the more) there was riding and revel that rang in the banks till it neared to noon." Or a line may have been dropped out after 136. In any case "the longer the more" should not be altered. Cf. *The Pearl*, 180:

& ever þe lenger, þe more & more.

till that it neighed neere noone. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, and it neighed nyghe the none,

and *Awntyrs of Arthure*, vi:

Euyn atte the mydday this ferly con falle.

139. *Winne to behold*. "Woe to behold"—P. "The word *woe* in the first half line is the difficulty; may it be the A.S. *wo*, *woh*, in the original sense of bent, inclined? Or rather it's put for *wo[d]*e, mad. *Winne* is joy, pleasure."—Sk. *Winne* seems to be fight. Skeat's suggestions, however, are far-fetched and the line remains a puzzle.

142. *In a nooke of the north*. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, II, 112 ff. See Introduction, p. 247. Cf. also *Piers Plowman*, XXI, 168: "Out of the nype of the north."

144. *with the biggest bere*. Cf. *Awntyrs of Arthure*, x:

The greundes were alle agast of the gryme bere.

Also *ibid.* XXVI: "with a grym bere."

147. Cf. the description of the crucifixion in *Piers Plowman*, XXI, 58 ff, especially 64:

The erthe quook and quashte as hit quyke were.

151 ff. The description of Death has its parallels in the accounts of various monsters in the alliterative poems, e. g., the bear in Arthur's dream, *Morte Arthure*, 774 ff:

Thanne come of the Oryente ewyne hyme agayne

A blake bustous bere abwene in the clowdes

with yche a pawe as a poste, and paumes fulle huge,

with pykes fulle perilous, alle plyande thame semyde,
Lothene and lothely, lokkes and other . . .
The foulleste of fegure that fourmed was euer!

Cf. also the description of the giant, 1074 ff.

Closer is the passage describing the ghost of Guinevere's mother in the
Awntyrs of Arthure, ix:

Alle bare was the body, and blak by the bone,
Vmbeclosut in a cloude, in clething evyl clad;
Hit gaulut, hit gamurt, lyke a woman,
Nauthyr of hyde, nyf of heue, no hilling hit had . . .
Hyr enyn were holket and holle,
And gloet as the gledes. (cited by Miss Scamman).

Comparison should also be made with Elde in *The Parlement*, 152 ff.

153. Powell rewrites:

ther was no segge of this syht but he was sore affrayd.

This does well enough as original composition in the alliterative manner, but there is no justification for a radical treatment of the text to normalize imperfect lines. *Segge* for *man* may of course be right.

155. The "quintful queene" is Pride. Cf. 183. *Quintful* = delicate. In the account of the coming of Antichrist, *Piers Plowman*, xxii, Pride bears the banner of Antichrist and Elde and Death follow in his train. On the association of Death with the Vices see Introduction, p. 247. Envy and Anger are mentioned in 185 as attendants upon Death.

156. Cf. *Scottish Feilde*, 232:

with 3 crownes full cleare all of pure gold.

This line in *D. & L.* is a good test case for Powell's hypothesis of full alliteration in every line. He emends: "all of cleane gold." The *Scottish Feilde* poet, then, must have been a victim of the same scribal substitution. As a matter of fact, however, there are so many lines in this and other alliterative poems which have no alliteration in the second half that we must assume a loose practice on the part of their authors rather than changes due to error and substitution. See section on Metre in the Introduction.

157. & shee the ffoulest ffreake that formed was euer. "Shee" is Death, not Pride. Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 781:

The foulleste of fegure that fourmede was euer!

Cf. also *D. & L.* 320 and *Morte Arthure*, 1061, 3301, for similar alliterative groups.

159-160. "Strangely enough none of the editors has noticed the contradiction between these two lines; according to line 159 Death was stark naked, according to line 160, clothed in linen. I propose:

She was naked as my nayle, but (= only) above, and belowe
She was lapped about in Linnen breeches"—Br.

If this is the sense there is no necessity for a change in the text. But it is to consider too curiously to consider so. The author was probably unconscious of or indifferent to the contradiction. It happens that precisely the same inconsistency occurs in *The Awntyrs of Arthure*, IX:

Alle bare was the body, and blak by the bone,
Vmbeclusut in a cloude, in clething evyl clad.

Cf. *Piers Plowman*, II, 3:

A loueliche lady of lere in lynnyn y-clothid.

165-166. Cf. *Awntyrs of Arthure*, IX:

Her enyn were holket and holle,
And gloet as the gledes.

170. *her lere like the lead*, i. e., the leaden hue of the cadaver.

171. *ð = an.* — F.

172. *bloody beronen*. A favorite phrase. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 10424; *Scottish Feilde*, 31; *Parlement*, 62.

173-4. The construction is obscure. The idea is that her left hand was like a griffin's leg, with the claws coming together (touching) at the tips. Very likely the passage is corrupt, but it may be simply another instance of loose grammatical construction.

175. Cf. *The Awntyrs of Arthure*, x, where, however, the formula is used of Gawain, not of the "ugly ghost" whom he is facing:

Then this byrne braydet owte a brand.

185. *yerne*. P. interprets *promptus, cupidus*. Sk., however, is correct in explaining the word as "iron." Cf. *Scottish Feilde*, 363, "in their steele weeds"; *Golagrus and Gawaine*, XLIV, 557: "in gleman stell wedis."

187. Cf. *William of Palerne*, 566:

What sorwes & sikingges I suffer for his sake.

190. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 572:

There is no gome vnder gode þat hym greue may.

192. *she* (MS. *he*) *stepped forth*. The confusion of pronouns here and elsewhere is probably scribal. The common gender "bearne" in the preceding line and the fact that Death is usually thought of as masculine may, however, account for the change in this case.

196 ff. The effects of Death's presence are parallel to those of Liffe's (Nature's). See above 69 ff. and note. Somewhat similar is the account of the terror occasioned by the appearance of the ghost in *The Awntyrs of Arthure*, x:

The houndes hyes to the holtes and thayre hedus hidus; . . .
The bryddus in the boes,
That of the gost gous,
Thay scryken in the scoes,
That herdus myzten hom here.

196. *when thē heard wapen*. Po. reads "when they heard her frappen." But see Glossary. *Wapens* = weapons in *Wars of Alexander*, 65. In any case "her" has probably dropped out.

207. *dolefullye dyen*. "Carefully dyen" — Po. and Schumacher. But again we have the standard type of line *a a / b b*. So also in 184, where Schumacher would alter "following" to "suing."

210 ff. Life's complaint of her injuries at the hands of Death is closely paralleled in *Winnere and Wastoure*, 229, where Winnere protests that the false Wastoure, is ruining the goods which he has accumulated; Winnere brandishes his brand and boasts that he will destroy the whole country.

thynges to strike or he styntt and stroye me for euer.

213. *& he hearkneth itt hendlye*. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 9238: She hearknet hym full hyndly.

215. Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 1953:

That rode for the rescowe of 3one riche knyghttez.

216. *Hee was bowne att his bidd*. Cf. *Golagrus and Gawain*, 330: Be boune of your bidding.

218. *he ran out of the rainebow*. A reminiscence of the classical Iris, messenger of the gods?

219. *& light on the Land*. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 2817: flor to light on þe londe.

221. "There is something wrong with this line; perhaps we should read 'wrecche' for 'Queene'" — Po. There are, however, many lines of this type: *a x / a a*. See section on Metre.

225. *for gryme*. P. suggest *forgrim*, very grim, A. S., *grim*, fury, rage. "Looked fiercely and gnashed her teeth for rage at Countenance's talk." — F. Pronominal confusion again. Cf. 165, 192, etc.

226. *but shee did as shee dained*. *Dained* = ordained, bade — Sk. "The context wants the meaning 'was told to'" — F. We interpret: "but shee (Death) did as she (Life) dained (thought proper), durst shee no other." See Glossary. Po. emends: "but shee did as he dained." Br. suggests "as she dained was."

231. *kissed kindly*, a common alliterative phrase. Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 714.

233. *weaknesse of care*. "Weaknesse is entirely meaningless. Read 'worker of care' (parallel with 'bringer of sorrow,' line 234)" — Br.

238. For the very common alliteration on *reason*: *right* see *Destruction of Troy*, 10715, etc.

239. *why kills thou the body*. Po. would emend to "why kills thou the corse," in order to make this line regular. But see section on Metre, where this type of line is discussed.

There is perhaps a reminiscence here of *The Debate of the Body and the Soul*, where the body's innocence is defended.

254. *thou buy must full deere*. The verb is intransitive as in 16.

255. If "they" is correct, it refers to "bearnies" of 253; but perhaps it is an error for "thou" or for "thee" (Po's reading).

288. *bidd if thê wold.* Cf. *Scottish Feilde*, 116:

saies, "I am bound to goe as ye me bidd wold."

The line may be explained: "Would have been brought into bliss (of heaven) if they had petitioned it."

278. *therefore, liffe, thou me leaue.* Perhaps *giue* has been omitted. Cf. 315.

285. *as to haue a slapp with my ffawohyon.* Po. reads: "as to haue a flapp." But the line is of a fairly common type: a b / a b.

287. *wayte thou no other.* P. says *wayte* = *wat*. For the Northern spelling *ay* for *a* cf. *layeth*, 229. But "*wat*" gives poor sense. The half line may be explained: "don't expect anything more," or, perhaps, as a miswriting for *wayste*, waste.

290-291. "It seems a marvel to me in what hole of thy heart thou keepest thy wrath toward the men of the earth." Holt. would read "*wra*" for "hole." But the alliterative expression "hole of thy heart" seems certainly the original.

308-9. "Where I pass, the world (i. e., worldly things and thoughts) depart. [If I did not come] men would be over bold. Wastoure makes a similar justification of his utility in *Winnere and Wastoure*. Were it not for him the poor would have nothing, etc.

310. The second half line is unintelligible.

311. "Transpose: 'that all grace us sendeth' or write, according to l. 458, 'granteth' instead of 'sendeth'."—Holt. But the last accented syllable may bear the alliteration. Moreover, type a a / a is the most common type of alliteration in this poem.

312. Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 3611:

That no dynte of no darte dere theme ne schoulde.

321. *on the beere layd.* "The alliteration demands: "layd on the beere"—Br. But see note to line 311.

325 ff. The author is pretty clearly adopting the roster of the Nine Worthies and the heroes of romance from *The Parlement*. The following names are common to both lists: Soloman, Alexander, Joshua, David, Hector, Arthur, Lancelot, Gawain, Galahad (Galloway?).

330. *Samuel.* Read *Saul*.—P. The scribe may have misread *Saul* as the abbreviation for Samuel, *Saml*.

ffor all his ffingers. Po. would read *slingers*. The meaning is "Saul, in spite of the strength of his hands."

334-5. Cf. *Parlement*, 400:

bare he was dede of a drynke, as dole es to here,
That the cursede Cassander in a cowpe hym broughte.

339. *Leonides*, i. e., Leonadas. The author is apparently not unversed in classical lore. Cf. note on 218.

340. *& Galloway the good Knight.* Galahad, possibly. Cf. *Parlement*, 473:

Bot *air* Galade the gude.

More probably, however, the author has created a new knight out of the name of Gawain's province, Galway. Cf. *Auntys of Arthure*, xxxiii.

341. Cf. *Golagrus and Gawain*, 520:

with the rout of the Round Tabill that wes richest.

345, 368. *iusted gentilye with Iesu*. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, xxi, 26: Ho shal Iouste with Iesus?

Also xxi, 17:

'And ho shoulde Iusten in Ierusalem?' 'Iesus,' he seide.

349. Cf. *Scottish Feilde*, 33-34:

& carryed him to Liester

& Naked into Newarke I will mine him noe more.

This quotation and others that might be cited (see *mene*, *Northern Passion*) render impossible Skeat's suggestion that *minned* = *nemned*.

351. *both of heauen and of earth*. "Can we read 'home' for 'earth'; it would suit the verse best?" — Po. But *h* freely alliterates with vowels in this poem (see lines 57, 276, 338, etc.). Again, by improving the alliteration we should destroy the meaning of the line. "Heauen and earth" is a commonplace.

378-9. *tho demedst to haue beene dead*. *Tho* = *thou*. "Deemedst [him.]" — Po. This emendation is unnecessary in view of the writer's carelessness in construction.

381 ff. The author has been unable to visualize the combat. Death appears from lines 384-388 to have retreated in haste, dropping her falchion as she ran. But in 367-8 the contest seems to have been bitter and prolonged. Death is disarmed and continues fighting with her hand. Again the literal and allegorical aspects of the crucifixion become confused.

385. *then was thou feard of this fare*. Cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 11008:

I am not ferd of þi fare, ne þi fell speche.

390. For the phrase "*barre bigglye*" cf. *Destruction of Troy*, 691, 6035, 10739, etc.

391. *thé told them tydands*. Percy suggests "thou toldest." The context demands "thou."

393. *& how he had beaten the on the* (MS. *thy*) *bent*.

& how he had beaten — Po. The MS. *shee* may, however, stand for Everlasting Life, identified with Christ.

399. *bost this neuer*. "bost thee neuer" — Po. But the meaning may be "Boast never of this (thy slaying of Jesus) among thy red deeds."

404 ff. This passage follows, in general, as Skeat has shown, the account of the Harrowing of Hell in *Piers Plowman*, xxi, 27 ff. Cf. especially the following details:

A voys loude in that light to Lucifer seide,

Princes of this palye preest unto the zates.

For here cometh with coroune the kyng of alle glorie. *P. Pl.* 274-6.

Pull open your ports you princes within!

Here shall come in King crowned with ioy. *D. & L.* 409-410.

Ac rys vp Ragamoffyn and reche me alle the barres

That Belial thy bel-eyre boet with thy damme

Ar we thorw bryghtnesse be blent barre we the gates. *P. Pl.* 284-6.

& bade them barre bigglye Belzebub his gates. *D. & L.* 390.

Thow shalt abygge bittere quath god and bond hym with cheynes.

P. Pl. 448. *Cf. D. & L.* 417.

The *Death & Liffe* author has condensed the account by omitting the long discussion between Christ and Satan, and he has greatly heightened the picturesque and dramatic features. Various complications caused by the introduction of the allegorical figures of Truth, etc., are avoided. See Introduction, p. 247.

407. *Cf.* 92 and note. *On = of.*

416. *he leapt vnto Lucifer.* *Cf. Piers Plowman*, B I, 116: "Lopen out with Lucifer"; C II, 112-3: "thulke wrechede Lucifer Lopen alofte."

417. This line is perhaps out of place here. *Cf.* 421, *Po.* suggests "thanes" for "chanes" in 421, but the line as it stands there is certainly right, whereas the sense in 417 is better without it.

435-6. "I shall watch over you carefully, and do ye understand full well and turn ye further from this world to a place above the clear skies."

Cf. Morte Arthure, 6:

That we may kayre til hys courte, the kyngdome of hevyne,

and *Scottish Feilde*, 154: "keire wold no further."

437. *Ladye.* Perhaps for *leed* (*cf.* 315). But the author is identifying Christ and Eternal Life throughout the passage and "Ladye" may be right; i. e., if you love well salvation. *Liffe* speaks of herself or rather of her other self again in 444.

451. *that faire.* *Cf. pat faire, Destruction of Troy*, 525; *pat comly*, 552, etc.

457-9. *Cf. Parlement*, 664:

There, dere Drightyne, this daye dele vs of thi blysse,

And Marie, þat es mylde qwene, amende vs of synn;

also *Destruction of Troy*, 14044:

He bryng vs to the blisse, þat bled for our Syn.

There is no need of supposing an omitted line, as *Po.* does. The construction is clear. "To that end Jesus of Jerusalem grant us grace and save there (i. e., in Jerusalem) a place or a 'mansion' for us."

GLOSSARY

avant, 366, boast.
bachelours, 78, bachelors, aspirants to knighthood.
bade, 390, ordered, bade.
ball, 21, bale. This spelling occurs in *Wm. of Palerne*, 1819, and *Cursor Mundi*, 4775.
banely, 247, promptly, willingly, readily.
Barathron, 405, Barathrum, the abyss, hell. The first citation in *N. E. D.* is dated 1520.
barnes, see *bearne*.
bearne, 14, 90, 112, 242, 424, child, man, person.
beere, 321, bier.
behoved, 336, behooved.
beliue, 73, 387, 452, quickly.
bent, 63, 149, 192, 223, grassy slope, field; *thy bent*, 393, the bent. Cf. 236.
bere, 144, noise, uproar.
beronen, 172, overflowed, surrounded.
betooke, 426, delivered, committed.
bidd, 268, petition, ask for; or hide (Sk). See note.
bigged, 383, built.
biglye, *bigglye*, 390, 418, greatly, mightily.
bine, 254? This word occurs in *Floris and Blancheflour*, *Trent-ham ms.* 1010,
 "Blancheflour seide byne,
 þe gilt of our dedes is moyne."
 So far as I have been able to determine, this is the only occurrence of the word outside of *D. & L.* The context in both poems shows that the word may be an adverb. It is possible that *bine* is an ablaut form of *O. N.*

beinn, direct, straight, prompt. Cf. *nu beint*, just now.
birth, 234, maiden, lady (M. E. *bird*, *burd*). I think that the scribe has confused *th* and *d* here as in *lodye* and *lothelich*.
blee, 65, 98, color, complexion.
blenched, 32, turned to.
blinn, 254, cease.
blusche, 388, cast a glance, *blushed*, 191.
bode, 149, abode, remained.
boolish, 58? "Perhaps 'tumid,' swelling, rounded." Thus *bole* in l. 32 from *O. E. bolne*, to *swell*.—Sk.
both, both; 12, also.
bower, 383, bower.
bowes, 23, boughs.
bowne, 216, prepared, ready.
bradd, 175, made a sudden motion, jerk, brandish; 216, start.
brake, 265, 271, 414, broke.
brand, 175, brand, sword.
brawoders, 63, embroideries.
breath, 34, breath, odor.
breathed, 23, emitted odors.
breme, 34, 74, bold, fierce, boldness.
bremelye, 364, boldly, fiercely, vigorously.
breuelye, 283, briefly? or for *bremelye* (Percy)?
brode, 63, broad.
burgens, 71,urgeons, buds.
burlyest, 145, stoutest, largest.
burne, 411, man, warrior.
burnisht, 175, polished, made ready.
but, 9, 56, 316, but; 254, unless.
buy, 254, pay for, atone for. Cf. *bye*.
bye, 16, pay for, make amends. See note.

- byterlye*, 16, bitterly.
carped, 231, 362, talked, chattered, complained.
caruen, 43, carved.
certes, 123, certainly.
cheereing, 61, turning, moving. Cf. *keere*, *kere*, *kyreth*.
clarke, 85, clerk. Cf. *clearkes*.
cleare, 43, 62, clear, bright.
clearkes, 8, clerks, learned men. Cf. *clarke*.
cold, 114, could. Cf. *wold*.
colour, 89, collar.
coninge, 8, knowledge, skill. Cf. *cuninge*.
corsses, 434, bodies.
cost, 8, condition.
craddle, 207, cradle.
creame, 438, chrism, *cleum sacra-tum*. Cf. *Gen and Ex.* 2458.
cuninge, 111, knowledge, skill. Cf. *coninge*.
dained, 226, deigned ? ordered ? See note.
dallyance, 108, 281, dalliance, pleasure.
dang, 204, 325, beat, struck. Cf. *dunge*.
daring, 442, hiding.
daredst, 418, hid, lay close, lurked.
daynty, 281, delight.
deared, 312, injured. Cf. *deere*.
deere, 427, injure. Cf. *deared*.
derffe, 325, hard, firm, cruel. O. E. *dearf*, Cf. *So. F.* 32, etc.
derffe, 380, troublesome. O. E. *gedeorf*.
dint, 275, blow, stroke.
disport, 108, sport, disport.
dolue, 275, dived.
doubt, 439, fear.
doughtye, 53, doughty.
doughtilye, 448, doughtily.
dree, 395, endure, carry through. Cf. *drye*.
dressses, 220, 182, 189, prepares.
- dright*, 38, noble, magnificent.
driueth, 10, driveth.
druryes, 87, love tokens, gifts, treasures.
drye, 263, endure. Cf. *dree*.
dunge, 211, struck, beat. Cf. *dang*.
durst, 226, durst, dared.
edgelong, 37, edgelong.
enowe, 457, enough.
erles, 53, earls.
faine, 113, 274, glad, joyous.
faire, 451, fair one. See note.
fairer, *thy fairer*, 236, the fairer. Cf. 393.
falte, 398, lack, need.
farden, 165, fared, went, were.
fare, 235, business, proceeding; 385, fair one (cf. *fayre*). See note to l. 385.
fared, 22, fared, went.
fawohyon, 274, 286, *fawohon*, 387, falchion.
fayleth, 16, fail, be false.
fayntyest, 270, faintest, poorest.
fayre, 64, fair one; 30, 385, fair.
fayrlye, 49, wonder, strange event.
feard, 385, afraid.
feeld, 64, *feild*, 319, field.
fell, 396, cruel.
fell, 201, felled.
fere, 186, companion.
fist, 387, hand.
flappe, 201, stroke.
fleringe, 412, grimacing, making wry faces. See *N.E.D.* *flee*.
fraine, 130, question, inquire.
frayd, 346, afraid.
freake, 157, 161, 176, 320, man, creature.
freshest, 346, newest, earliest.
frith, 72, 270, forest.
gainest, 208, quickest, readiest, best.
Galloway, 340. See note.
garr, 190, cause.
gate, 193, way, manner of going.
gaynest, 412, quickest.

geere, 175, gear, trappings.
gentlye, 345, nobly, like a gentleman.
glented, 384, gleamed, shone suddenly.
glode, 28, glided.
glowed, 225, glowered, looked angry.
gogled, 147, shook.
gone, 151, walk, go.
gran, 225, gnashed the teeth.
greaten, 17, increase.
greened, 73, turned green.
grislye, 154, terrible, grim.
groome, 84, 86, 190, man, creature.
grow, 289, grow.
gryme, 225, variant of *grim*, anger, fury. See note.
grype, 173, raven.
gryped, 274, gripped.
hart, 7, heart.
heard, 196, heard.
heard, 199, herd, company.
heare, 158, hair.
hend, 80, prompt, gracious.
hendlye, 213, graciously.
hew, 158, hue.
hide, 158, skin.
holte, 55, hill.
hore, 31, white, hoar.
hyeth, 199, speedeth, hasteneth.
hynd, 106, 340, gentle, courteous.
hyndes, 279, hinds, servants.
ilke, 94, same; 262, each.
i-wisse, 104, certainly.
kaitiffe, 237, caitiff.
keene, 10, 51, keen, bold.
keere, 436, turn. See *kere*, *kyreth*, and *cheereing*.
ken, 131, show, inform.
kere, 47, turn; *kered*, 117, turned.
 See *keere*, *kyreth* and *cheereing*.
killethe, 205, killeth. Cf. *quellethe*.
kind, 85, sort, kind.
kindlye, 131, 231, kindly; 111, by nature.
kirtle, 83, kirtle.

kithe, 436, native country, region.
 Cf. *kythe*.
kithen, 392, make known.
kyreth, 230, turneth. See *keere*, *kere*, and *cheereing*.
kythe, 47, see *kithe*.
lach, 303, take, receive; *latheth*, 298, taketh. See *latche*.
lake, 302, see *leake*.
land, 25, "leaned or layd, as in l. 63?"—F. The form *land* may be the preterit of *lenden*, remain, or it may be, as F. suggests, a miswriting for *layd*, or *leaned*.
lapped, 160, wrapped.
latche, 435, receive. See *lach*.
layeth, 228, loathsome, deadly. This spelling occurs in *Parl.* 152. Cf. *lodlye*.
leake, 249, play, sport. Cf. *lake* above and *layke*, *Parl.*, 49.
learned, 179, taught.
leed, 315, 339, 350, man, person.
leege, 374, liege.
lengthened, 29, lengthened.
lent, 188, committed, entrusted.
Leonades, 339, see note.
lere, 170, face.
lidden, 249, evil.
light, 219, 437, alighted.
like, 68, like, please.
list, 37, see textual note.
lodlye, 162, loathly. See *lothelich* and *layeth*.
long, 133, abide, dwell; *longed*, 60, 86, 106, abode, remained.
longed, 394, belonged to. Cf. *Sc. F.* 9.
longer, *the longer the more*, 136, See note.
looke, 29, look; 435, watch over, keep safe. See note.
losse, 305, fame, reputation, praise.
losse, 305, lost.
lothelich, 303, 374, loathly. See *lodlye* and *layeth*.
lothinge, 188, loathing.

lowly, 82, lovely or lowly? See textual note.

lowted, 70, 179, 334, 352, bowed.

maine, 443, main, might. Cf. *meane*.

marde, 141, marred, spoiled.

marreth, 243, marreth.

mauger, 316, in spite of.

maymed, 141, maimed.

me, 30, myself.

meane, 434, main, might, power. Cf. *maine*.

meanye, 243, company.

merke, 406, murky, dark.

middest, 335, midst.

mikle, 300, much, great.

minned, 349, mentioned.

mold, 134, 323, earth.

mores, 40, maurs, high open places.

morninge, 186, mourning.

mourninge, 406, mourning.

murthered, 366, murdered.

musters, 277, displays, tricks.

my list, 318, me list. The same confusion of *my* and *me* occurs in *Havelok* 2204, *Layamon's Brut*, 1200.

nay, 433, 443, nay, or possibly *nay* = *ne*, nor, as Sk. suggests.

ne, 8, nor.

nebb, 169, point, end, beak.

neere, 356, near, or nearer.

neighed, 91, 137, approached.

noe, 11, etc., no.

nooke, 142, corner.

on, 1, etc., on; 407, of.

or, 140, 367, ere, before.

ost, 443, *oste*, 57, host.

pappe, 381, breast.

paradice, 13, paradise.

pight, 227, pitched, pierced.

plaine, 56, 227, flat, even. See note to l. 56.

ports, 409, gates.

presse, 52, crowd.

pratinge, 259, prattling, chattering.

prestlye, 203, 306, readily, promptly.

priokes, 430, spurs, rides fast; or dresses elaborately.

profrereth, 79, offereth, profereth.

prouet, 306, provest.

quakinge, 155, quaking, trembling.

quellethe, 203, killeth. Cf. *killethe*.

quintful, 155, proud, haughty, delicate. This spelling of *quaintful* occurs in *Wm. of P.*, 1401, and *Sir Ferumbras*, 1681, 3257.

raigne, 238, reign.

railinge, 376, running, flowing.

rattlinge, 146, rattling, noisy.

rayling, 24, ornamenting.

reacheth, 200, extendeth, stretches forth.

recon, 14, reckon.

retch, 246, wretch.

riche, 456, govern, control.

rise, 66, twig.

rood, 377, rood, cross.

ronge, 138, rang. Cf. *runge*.

roughe, 57, 200, rough.

rought, 239, wrought.

rout, 146, 200, crowd.

rudd, 66, complexion.

rudlye, 355, roughly, strongly, rudely. But see textual note.

runn, 26, ran.

runge, 146, rang. Cf. *ronge*.

rydinge, 138, riding.

sadlye, 322, seriously, still.

sate, 36, sat.

sayd, 454, became heavy (in sleep). Cf. *sayed*.

saye, 50, 151, saw. See textual note to lines 50 and 151.

sayed, 36, became heavy (with sleep). Cf. *sayd* and see note.

seemelye, 50, seemly.

selcooth, 96, 181, strange thing, wonder. This spelling occurs in *Sc. F.*, 72.

seluen, 37, self.

sett, 310, value? See *N. E. D. set*, 91.

shapen, 266, shaped.
sheere, 59, pure, clear.
shent, 370, shamed, disgraced.
side, 166, wide.
sides, 376, sides.
sikinge, 187, sighing.
sith, 127, 318, 365, since.
slade, 454, open place, valley.
slapp, 285, blow, slap.
sonn, 65, sun.
sonne, 18, son.
sorrowful, 152, sad, causing sorrow.
specyaltie, 208, partiality, particular right.
speed, 359, success.
speede, 117, succeed.
spilleth, 208, destroys.
staleworth, 104, stalworth.
steuen, 408, voice.
stinted, 177, ceased.
stout, 104, stout, proud.
swang, 337, beat, struck.
swaynes, 54, lads, servants.
sweeres, 54, squires. Variant of the more usual *swyere*.
swelt, 337, become faint, die.
swire, 337, neck.
swond, 176, swoon.
talents, 174, talons? I find this variant of *talons* in Wright's *Dial. Dict.* See note.
teened, 391, vexed, troubled.
teenful, 174, troublesome.
the, 3, thee.
the, 391. See note.
the, 75, 196, 268, they.
tho, 115, then.
tho, 379. See note.
tholed, 1, suffered.
throngeth, 251, crowds, presser.
thy, 236, the. Cf. line 63.
till, 91, to.
tipen, 194, bend, tilt.
to, 87, too.
touchinge, 174, touching.
truse, 11 (1) package—F., or, more probably, (2) truce. Cf. *Sc. F.*,

396: & the truce that was taken the space of 2 yeeres.
turnes, 249, turns, tricks.
tushes, 168, tusks.
tydands, 391, tidings.
unrid, 171, enormous, cruel. Variant of *unride*. See note to l. 1647 of *Guy of Warwick*, E. E. T. S. ed., pp. 371-2. The spelling without *e* occurs in *Alex.* 566, *Town. Mys.*, p. 221, E. E. T. S. ed., *Ormulum*, etc.
unlye, 45, variant of *winlye*, joyfully, pleasantly. Cf. *vepan* for *wepan*, *vyrschipp*, *vreke*, etc. in Bradley-Stratmann.
wakinge, 35, watching.
waleth, 298, afflicteth, vexeth.
walts, 299, overthrows.
wan, 319, won.
wapen, 196, blows (cf. *whap*)? fluttering? rustling? weapons? See note.
wappeth, 217, lashes about, beats.
ware, 84, wore.
warrant, 206, protect.
wary, 255, curse.
wasts, 42, wastes.
wayte, 287, await, wait for.
wayted me, 48, looked around, watched. See note.
weaknesse, 233, see note.
weene, 344, expect.
weldeth, 13, ruleth, governeth.
were, 22, where. Cf. *where* for *were*. *So. F.*, 72.
whilest, 397, whilst.
wight, 217, 293, person, wight.
wild, *the wild*, 75, the wild animals.
willed, 120, desired.
winne, 5, 293, pleasant, joyous; 139, see note.
winlye, 75, 80, 428, joyously, pleasantly.
winn, 129, joyous; 139.
winn, 344, overcome.
wist, 144, knew.

with that, 175, then.

witt, 120, show, reveal; 131, know.

woe, 139. See note.

wold, would, *like wold*, 68, would like. Cf. *cold*, could.

wondering, 441, wandering. Cf. l. 452.

worshipp, 120, honor, respect.

worth, 248, become, *worthes*, 9, becomes.

wott, 378, know.

wright, 238, right.

wrought, '15, wrought, worked.

wrought, wrought lady, 215,

"*Wrought* perhaps is the same with the Scotch *wrachit*, i. e., wretched."—P.

yee, 101. See note.

yerne, 185, iron. See note.

yonder, 440, yonder, that one (used absolutely). Cf. *þe ȝon* (that one) *Wm. of Palerne*, 3052. See textual note.

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FORESHADOWING AND SUSPENSE IN THE EURIPIDEAN PROLOG

BY DONALD CLIVE STUART

One of the most difficult tasks which face a dramatist is to convey to the audience the facts of the past and present necessary for an understanding of the plot of the play, and, at the same time, to arouse interest in the plot as quickly as possible by creating suspense as to the outcome of the situation. The opening scenes of the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles are evidence that the Greek playwrights became masters of the difficult art of exposition and were able to employ almost all the devices known by the dramatist to be effective in arousing the interest of the spectators in the plot. Euripides, perhaps the most sophisticated of the three playwrights, deliberately chose to open most of his plays with a monolog; and from the time of Aristophanes down to the present day, he has been alternately attacked and defended for this practice.

We shall not attempt to discuss the question of the artistic value of the prolog as a means of exposition as compared with the expository scenes of Aeschylus and Sophocles; but we shall try to point out that practically all the Euripidean prologs, in addition to serving as a means of acquainting the audience with certain facts of the past, present and sometimes of the future, perform another very important function, *i. e.*, of foreshadowing and arousing suspense. Let it be said immediately, however, that foreshadowing as a term of dramatic technique, does not mean to foretell plainly events that actually come to pass in the future, nor does it mean to forestall interest in the plot in the slightest degree. To foreshadow signifies to give information, in a more or less vague manner, but in a way to arouse curiosity, as to what *may* happen in the future.

Both Lessing¹ and Commer² pointed out correctly that in order to enjoy to the utmost certain plays of Euripides, such as the *Ion*, the audience must be informed of certain facts, such as the relationship of Creusa to Ion, set before them in the prolog. Indeed, Commer says that the aim of the Euripidean prolog is to arouse pity and fear by narrating past events and by foretelling future events. At first glance, it might seem that Commer recognized the element of foreshadowing and of suspense in the prolog; but close examination of his discussion of the separate plays shows conclusively that he is emphasizing foretelling, not foreshadowing, although he defends Euripides from the charge of forestalling the interest. Furthermore, although Commer uses the expression *metu suspensi*, he does not recognize at all the fact that or the reason why Euripides states in the prolog certain facts or supposed facts fraught with hope or fear, as the case may demand. Suspense is not fear, but is a combination of hope and fear; and Euripides, a skillful dramatist, knows when to stress the element of hope, and when to emphasize the element of fear. Commer refers to that fear which is aroused by our knowledge from the beginning in the *Hippolytus* that Phedra and Hippolytus will die; but that is not dramatic suspense. We shall attempt to show that generally toward the end of almost every Euripidean prolog come lines of foreshadowing, which arouse suspense in the mind of the spectator as to what may happen and which stress the note of either hope or fear according to the exigencies of the situation at hand. Furthermore, we shall point out that often these lines actually mislead the spectator, that Euripides purposely foreshadows events in the prolog which do not take place, and that in certain plays the hope or fear aroused by those lines gives way to the opposite emotion in order that the spectator may be held in doubt as to the final issue of the plot and that the situation may remain in the balance.

In the prolog to the *Alcestis*, Apollo informs the audience that Alcestis is dying and that Thanatos is coming to conduct her to the halls of Hades. Any normal spectator will immediately infer that this is the end of Alcestis, if not of the play. Unless one takes into consideration preknowledge of the myth on the part of the

¹ Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, 48 u. 49 Stücke.

² F. Commer, *De Prologorum Euripideorum Causa ac Ratione*, Bonn, 1854, p. 29.

audience—which would be manifestly unfair in such a discussion—the possibility of the resurrection of Alcestis and of a happy outcome of the situation would not occur to anyone. In the next scene, Apollo pleads with Thanatos to spare Alcestis; but the messenger of death is obdurate. Finally, Apollo says that someone will come to take Alcestis from Thanatos. The ray of hope dawns; but does not the spectator believe that Alcestis must be rescued while she is still alive? Otherwise, if Apollo knows that she can be saved even after death, why does he plead with Thanatos? But Alcestis dies, and her resurrection comes as a surprising *coup de théâtre*. Euripides has indulged in false foreshadowing in order to arouse suspense.

Haigh calls attention to the fact that the prolog to the *Ion* deliberately misleads the spectator.³ Hermes, foreshadowing the outcome, says:

He (Apollo) shall give Xuthus, when he entereth,
His own (Apollo's) child, saying to him, "Lo, thy son,"
That the lad, coming home, made known may be
Unto Creusa, Loxias' deed abide
Unknown. . . . (69-73).⁴

It is true that Apollo bestows Ion upon Xuthus as if Xuthus were the father of Ion, as is foretold in the prolog; but Creusa does not for this reason accept Ion as her son. On the contrary, she arouses great suspense by planning to slay this supposed son of Xuthus; and the manner in which she is saved from this terrible act is wholly surprising. Furthermore, in order to bring about the recognition scene between the mother and the son, Loxias' deed has to be made known, in spite of the fact that Hermes foretold that the amour between Creusa and Apollo would remain secret. This is more than false foreshadowing. It is false foretelling. At the end of the play, Athena says that the divine seer meant to keep this secret until the truth could be proclaimed at Athens; but evidently even the intention of a god must give way to the desire of the playwright to arouse suspense and cause surprise.

In the *Phoenissae*, Jocasta gives in great detail the facts of the tragic situation of her two sons. The tragedy has an unhappy outcome. Therefore, according to excellent dramatic practice followed as a rule by all Greek playwrights, the note of hope should be

³ A. L. Haigh, *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, Oxford, 1896, p. 241.

⁴ The translation of A. S. Way.

stressed at the beginning of the action. The last words of Jocasta in this monolog correctly shed a ray of light over the gloom. She has prevailed upon her sons to form a truce and to meet before they join battle. She prays to Zeus that her sons may be reconciled. This passage plainly foreshadows the obligatory scene of the play. It gives the element of hope necessary for dramatic suspense, and would cause an audience to believe that a happy outcome of the situation is very possible.

The first speech of Aethra in the *Supplices* is not strictly a formal prolog addressed to the audience, but is rather an integral part of the play, since it takes the form of a prayer and since the chorus and Adrastus are already on the stage. However, even in this speech we find foreshadowing lines preparing for a scene to come, when Aethra tells us that she has sent a herald to summon Theseus to the aid of the suppliants. Thus, in spite of the fact that this tragedy is so poorly constructed that there is little chance for dramatic foreshadowing, we find traces of Euripides' general practice in the opening speech, of "carrying forward the interest of the audience," as Mr. William Archer would say.⁵

Euripides' skill in the foreshadowing appears to excellent advantage in the formal prolog to the *Hercules Furens*. Amphitryon tells us that Hercules has not returned from the house of Pluto, that the children of Hercules have no hope save to cling to the altar of Zeus, since Lycus aims to slay the children, their mother, and even Amphitryon himself. "Desperate of life" they are "barred from homes whose doors are sealed" (53-54). Thus suspense is immediately aroused. One gains the impression that almost all hope is gone. Since Hercules is in the realms of the dead, one hardly expects him to return; but the ray of hope necessary to keep suspense from being merely fear is given by Amphitryon when he says to Megara:

Daughter, a fair-wind course may yet befall
From storms of present ills for thee and me.
Yet may he come—my son, thy lord may come (95-97).

Thus, the appearance of Hercules, just at the moment when he alone can save the children is not wholly unexpected; but nevertheless the suspense caused by the knowledge that Lycus seeks to

⁵ William Archer, *Playmaking*, Boston, p. 185.

slay the children is ended by a dramatic *coup de théâtre* which comes as a great surprise. However, since the return of Hercules is almost unexpected, although strongly desired, the prolog gives the effect of false foreshadowing, since the events which we actually expect to take place—the murder of the children, their mother and Amphitryon—do not come to pass. Had the playwright actually foretold the arrival of Hercules, or even foreshadowed it more strongly, suspense and surprise would have been immeasurably reduced. On the other hand, the speech of Iris, which is practically a prolog to the second part of the tragedy, correctly foretells the murder of the children by Hercules. If we were not given to believe that the children would be slain by Hercules, the action of the play at this point would wander on in a seemingly aimless manner. There would be no suspense, but only a shock of surprise when the deed is done; and, when one of these elements must be sacrificed to the other, it is almost always, and certainly in this scene, surprise which must be given up, even though suspense is thereby reduced to fear.

Even in the prolog to the *Heracleidae*, in spite of the fact that the tragedy is poorly constructed, there is suspense aroused at the end of the prolog. Iolaus has told how Eurystheus causes the children of Hercules to be driven from every place of refuge, and now he cries out that he sees the herald of Eurystheus approaching, by whom the wanderers are still pursued at the command of the pitiless Eurystheus. Certainly, even at this play, no spectator would be inclined to leave the theatre after the prolog has foreshadowed this obligatory scene. There is no hint as to the dénouement of the plot.

The prolog of the *Hecuba* actually foretells that Polyxena must die, and that Hecuba will behold the body of Polydorus, whose phantom speaks the formal prolog; but these events are by no means the dénouement of the tragedy. Indeed, it is the sight of the body of Polydorus which causes the rest of the action to unfold, as Hecuba wreaks vengeance on Polymestor for the murder of her son at his hands. A part of the plot, and in this case a relatively small part, is foretold in order to catch the attention of the spectators; and then the major portion of the tragedy is enacted without even a hint having been given as to the vengeance of Hecuba and the trial scene before Agamemnon and its outcome.

It can be gathered from what has already been said that Euripides employs various methods to arouse curiosity and suspense; and in the opening scene of the *Troades* still another procedure is found. In this tragedy the prolog is not merely the monolog of Poseidon, but it includes the ensuing dialog between Poseidon and Athena, since the whole scene is an introduction to the play proper. It is true that neither the plot of the tragedy nor the dénouement is plainly foreshadowed. The only hint of the action given is that Agamemnon will take Cassandra as his slave, which is merely an episode in the development of the action. However, there is foreshadowing of events which occur after the close of the play. We find that Athena, once the enemy of the Trojans and active in causing the downfall of Troy and the resultant woe, now leagues herself with Poseidon as the enemy of the Greeks in order to wreak vengeance on them with storm and thunderbolts. This is to be done as the Argives sail home; and this event, although foreshadowed in the prolog, does not take place during the action of the play, but must happen, if at all, after the dénouement. Perhaps it is going too far to say that this foreshadowing gives rise to a concrete hope that these divine powers will interfere in behalf of the woeful Trojan women, yet hope is created by the very fact that two powerful divinities are known to be hostile to the Greeks and that vengeance is in the air. No spectator can possibly escape this impression. In this tragedy, with an unhappy outcome, the prolog correctly gives the impression that all is not lost, an impression which may be vague but none the less is strong enough to increase the poignancy of the suspense and the sadness of the final catastrophe. As far as the plot of the play is concerned Euripides has again indulged in what amounts to false foreshadowing. Had his aim been merely to foretell events after the close of the play, he would have transferred this information to the epilog of the tragedy, where it is canonically found.

Helen, in the tragedy of that name, after telling in the prolog of her situation, asks why she should live on, and straightway answers her own question, saying that Hermes has prophesied that she shall return to Sparta with her lord. She also creates suspense by informing us that the son of the dead monarch pursues her; but the important point is, that were she not buoyed up by this hope of finding Menelaus, her impulse would be to commit suicide. In

this case, Euripides has actually foreshadowed, indeed has practically foretold the real dénouement. It might seem, at first glance, that he has made a technical error in so doing, for, as a rule, stress should be placed upon fear at the beginning of a play with a happy outcome and *vice versa*. However, if this passage is examined in the light of the next scene, it will be found that Euripides constructed this play with skillful foreshadowing and preparation, for, in the next scene, Teucer brings the rumor that Menelaus is dead, and a moment later we find Helen trying to decide by what means she can die with honor—the noose or the dagger. Had Euripides stressed the note of fear in the prolog, the news brought by Teucer would be a mere repetition of our first impression. The playwright correctly chose to make the pendulum of suspense swing from hope to despair, which is far more effective than having it swing from fear to despair. The true foreshadowing is more dramatic in this case. It would have been a grave mistake to have Helen believe that Menelaus is dead and then have Teucer reassure her.

The only other possibility in this situation would be to have Helen express her fear in the prolog that Menelaus is dead and then delete the scene with Teucer. This is actually the way that Euripides handles a parallel situation in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Iphigenia believes as the result of a dream, as she informs us in the prolog, that Orestes is dead. No one confirms this impression, for there is no need of any repetition of the idea. Here we have the element of fear emphasized in the opening scene of a tragedy with a happy ending; and, once more, suspense is created by means of false foreshadowing. Euripides has again handled the situation with consummate technical skill.

In the *Andromache*, in a somewhat but not entirely similar manner, Andromache tells us in the prolog that Hermione, aided by Menelaus, seeks to slay her and that, fearing for the life of her child, she has had the boy conveyed secretly to the "house of another." In the next scene, the foreboding fear of Andromache for her child is changed into certain fear when the Handmaid informs her that Menelaus and Hermione know that she has spirited the child away and that they intend to slay him. This is not a mere repetition of the idea of fear, but it is an intensification of dramatic suspense and a step forward in the development of the action by turning Andromache's apprehension into certain fear.

On the other hand, Andromache tells us that Neoptolemus has gone to Delphi to see

If haply prayer for those transgressions past
Might win the Gods' grace for days to be (54-55).

But the hope aroused by these lines is not fulfilled, for Neoptolemus is slain. Therefore, the foreshadowing in the prolog, far from hinting at the actual dénouement of the play, rather misleads the spectator. The calamity which is foreshadowed does not come to pass, for Andromache and her child escape; but the calamity unforeshadowed in the prolog—the death of Neoptolemus—does take place. Also, as in the *Hercules Furens* and the *Hecuba*, the prolog only foreshadows possible events of the first part of the play.

In the prolog to the *Orestes*, Electra gives the information that this day the vote is to be taken as to whether Orestes and she shall be put to death. She says:

The appointed day is this,
Whereon the Argive state shall cast the vote,
Whether we twain must die, by stoning die,
Or through our own necks plunge the whetted steel.
Yet one hope have we of escape from death;
For Menelaus from Troy hath reached the land (48-53).

As Mr. Archer says of another play we can say of this tragedy: "This gives us a definite point to which to look forward, while leaving the actual course of events entirely undefined. It fulfills one of the great ends of craftsmanship, in foreshadowing without forestalling an intensely interesting conjuncture of affairs."⁶ These lines turn out to be a remarkable combination of true and false foreshadowing. It is true that the situation of the matricides is almost desperate and that the Argive state is to decide their fate. That fact alone is enough to create suspense. Furthermore, the lines plainly imply that if the brother and sister are adjudged guilty, they will be sentenced to death or will be allowed to commit suicide. Their one hope lies in the fact that Menelaus has returned; but this hope fails them early in the play. They are condemned to death, but are to be allowed to commit suicide. As far as the prolog is concerned, one would naturally expect this event to be the outcome of the play; but the plot suddenly takes a new turn which

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

is entirely unforeshadowed. Electra and Orestes, abandoned by Menelaus, decide to slay Helen; and they and the audience believe that this deed has been accomplished. They are also ready to slay Hermione when Apollo unexpectedly intervenes and saves the life of everyone and tells how he has rescued Helen in a miraculous manner. Thus the foreshadowing in the prolog is entirely deceiving as far as the dénouement is concerned; and yet there is just enough truth in it to make the unfolding of the plot intensely interesting and theatrically effective, even if it is not dramatic in the best sense of the word.

In the prolog to the *Bacchae*, the foreshadowing is vague but compels interest. Dionysus, after describing the situation, threatens that he will prove his godhead to Pentheus and to all the Thebans. This is sufficient to create suspense. Furthermore, he says:

If Thebes in wrath
Take arms to chase her Bacchants from the hills,
Leading my Maenads I will clash in fight (50-52).

One would be inclined to expect a battle of some kind from these lines; but the plot unfolds in quite a different manner. The words of Dionysus foretell his triumph, but they hardly give a hint as to the real action of the play. The dénouement is a surprise as far as the prolog is concerned.

The Nurse in the prolog to the *Medea* forebodes ill, but she does not foretell what will happen. Being a mortal, she has not the power to do so. She says of Medea:

She loaths her babes, joys not to behold them.
And what she may devise I dread to think.
Grim is her spirit, one that will not brook
Mishandling: yea, I know her, and I fear
Lest to her bridal bower she softly steal
And through her own heart thrust the whetted knife,
Or slay the king and him that weds the child,
And get herself some doom yet worse thereby (36-43).

Does anyone know what will happen? Would any normal spectator consent to leave the theatre without having his curiosity satisfied at least? As a matter of fact, Medea slays her children. This deed is foreshadowed only in the vaguest way, if at all, by these lines. Only from line 90 on do we really begin to dread the death of the children. Of the events which the Nurse plainly foreshadows in

this monolog, only one takes place. The king does meet his doom but he dies accidentally as the result of Medea's machinations, and his death was not planned by her. Medea neither slays Jason, nor does she commit suicide, nor does she involve herself in some worse doom, but escapes in triumph. On the other hand, she kills the daughter of the king, although this deed is not hinted at in the monolog. Thus, while the Nurse arouses suspense by her foreshadowing, the audience is misled in such a way that the actual events of the play come as astounding surprises, as far as the prolog is concerned.

The four lines beginning "Lest to her bridal bower" etc. are bracketed by most scholars as being a relatively late interpolation. Professor Frank believes that they may be dated as post-Didymean.⁷ His arguments based upon the scholia and textual criticism are very sound; but his sole aesthetic reason for rejecting them is open to question in the light of what we believe to have shown is the practice of Euripides. He claims that "the whole passage in question very inappropriately gives anticipation of the plot which has not yet assumed definite shape." We consider these lines very appropriate and as representing an extremely artistic handling of dramatic technique. Even if they are deleted, we may point to the foreboding and the vague foreshadowing in the remaining lines cited above. Indeed, let us freely grant that they are a later interpolation. However, their presence is excellent evidence that they were introduced into the play by someone—probably an actor—who was fully cognizant of the dramatic value of such lines at the beginning of a play and who, conscious of the general practice of Euripides, interpolated them in order to arouse greater suspense by foreshadowing.

Of the tragedies of Euripides which open with a formal prolog, only two remain which do not conform entirely to this general practice of creating suspense by foreshadowing. The *Electra* has a prolog which gives no hint as to the dénouement of the play. Even in this prolog, however, there is a certain amount of suspense caused by the announcement of Auturgus that Aegisthus has set a price on the head of Orestes, especially as Auturgus gives the impression, a moment later, that Orestes may return. As for the *Hippolytus*,

⁷Tenney Frank: *A Stichometric Scholium to the Medea of Euripides, The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Chicago, 1904, p. 68.

the foreshadowing is true and the dénouement is foretold; but this is the only play in which the prolog arouses fear unmodified by any hope and at the same time gives the dénouement in words not to be doubted. Yet it is a commonplace of Euripidean criticism to say that the prolog foretells the ending of the tragedy, whereas, in the great majority of cases, nothing is further from the truth.

We believe that we have shown that, as a rule, Euripides arouses suspense in the prolog by a skillful use of true or false foreshadowing, or both, as the case demands. This is done in such a dramatic way that, as soon as the prolog is spoken, no normal spectator could be induced to leave the theatre. A modern dramatist considers himself fortunate if he can place his audience in this frame of mind by the end of the first act. Miss Evelyn Spring, the latest writer to deal with the subject of the Euripidean prolog, points out that "in only two of Euripides' plays (the *Ion* and the *Bacchae*) are the explanations supplied in the prolog indispensable in order that the dramatic action which follows may be intelligible."⁸ She calls the prolog "undramatic," and believes that "to consider the Euripidean prolog, in general, an essential part of the play, is an injustice to the poet."⁹ Lessing pointed out long ago that the artistic value of the Euripidean prolog is not to be tested by the question as to whether it is indispensable to the understanding of the plot. [Euripides plainly aimed at something far more important than mere exposition in his formal prolog,] as both Lessing¹⁰ and Commer¹¹ partially saw. The point is that, if the prolog is done away with the plot may still be understood and followed; but if the prolog is left out, suspense, the very foundation of the structure of the drama, is immeasurably and perhaps irreparably weakened. Thus we cannot admit that the Euripidean prolog is undramatic and, in general, not an essential part of the drama.

There is certainly no greater admirer of Euripides than Professor Gilbert Murray, who, although he finally justifies the existence of the prolog on different grounds, writes of the prolog as follows:

"It is a long speech with no action to speak of; and it tells us not only the present situation of the characters—which is rather dull—but also

⁸ Evelyn Spring, *A Study of Exposition in Greek Tragedy*, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 1917, p. 182.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 186 f.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

¹¹ *Op. cit.*

what is going to happen to them—which seems to us to spoil the rest of the play. . . . But why does it let out the secret of what is coming? Why does it spoil the excitement beforehand? Because, we must answer, there is no secret; and the poet does not aim at that sort of excitement. A certain amount of plot-interest there certainly is: we are never told exactly what will happen, but only what sort of thing; or we are told what will happen but not how it will happen.”¹²

In the light of what we have shown we would amend these statements to read as follows:

The prolog is a speech of varying length, and near the end it indicates either a part or the whole of the problem of the plot. This is a very important element in dramatic technique. It tells the present situation of the characters, which is extremely interesting because the situation is remarkable or tragic or both. It also tells what *may* happen to the characters and certain things which do or do not happen to them, according to the demands of artistic technique in each case. This arouses interest in the rest of the play immediately because we wish to see how the problem is solved and how the situation develops. It does not let out the secret of what is coming in such a way as to forestall the excitement; but, in connection with the next scene or by itself, it creates suspense by true or false foreshadowing, or both. A great deal of plot-interest there certainly is. There is a secret and the playwright aims at this sort of excitement. We are told once in unequivocal words, with nothing to cast doubt on them, exactly what will happen (*Hippolytus*). But generally we are told what thing we may hope or fear will happen. Or we are told what will happen and we find that it does not happen with the expected result (*Orestes* and *Electra* condemned to death). Or we are told how it will happen and find that it does not happen in this way (*Ion*).

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¹² Gilbert Murray, *Euripides and His Age*, New York, pp. 205-6.

THE POET OVID

BY KIRBY FLOWER SMITH

The forty-one years during which the destiny of the civilized world was swayed by Cæsar Augustus have always been a proverb of splendor, cultivation, and brilliant achievement. An age of peace and stable government, an age of material prosperity such as the world had never seen before, it was also an age of men whose names are almost as familiar now as they were nineteen centuries ago. But among all those great Augustans who have won and deserved a permanent place in the Temple of Fame there is probably none who, whether we consider his work, his personality, or his romantic career, has as many claims upon our interest and attention as Publius Ovidius Naso.

The last, the youngest, and the most modern of those famous poets who saw the first edition of Virgil's *Aeneid* and of Horace's *Odes* was born on the 20th of March in the year 43 B. C. His birthplace was Sulmo, a small mountain town ninety miles due east from Rome, in the Abruzzi. It then belonged to the territory of the Paeligni. In the Social Wars of fifty years before, this hardy stock of Sabellian mountaineers had fought for their rights against the Senatorial party but had been defeated. For that reason they were all the more disposed now to side with Octavianus in that great final struggle which, when Ovid was in the cradle, had already begun.

Sulmo still survives in the modern Solmona. It is perched on an isolated plateau some 1600 feet above the level of the sea. In the background are the snow-capped peaks of the Apennines. The picturesque beauty of the place is accompanied by a cool, bracing climate, and enhanced by a number of cold and sparkling mountain streams to which the poet recurred again and again in after years with a delight in this particular aspect of nature which is eminently characteristic of the Roman temperament.

In these charming surroundings the two children, Ovid and a brother who was his elder by just a year, passed what must have been an exceptionally healthy and happy boyhood. The family was evidently one in which vitality had been stored up for an indefinite period. Ovid says that his father lived to be ninety, and

that his mother survived her venerable husband. To this invaluable inheritance of health and ability were added the advantages of wealth and social position. The family had belonged to the equestrian order for generations, and at the same time, it was fortunate enough to escape financial losses in that turmoil of proscription and confiscation which between the battles of Philippi and Actium brought to ruin so many of the country gentlemen of Italy.

The elder Ovid decided to fit both his sons for the law, and in due time the two boys were sent down to Rome, where they acquired the usual rhetorical and legal education of that period. As it turned out the elder son was the real lawyer of the family. Though he died at the early age of twenty, he had already gained distinction as an advocate. As for the younger son, every line of his works tells us that from the first he must have been deeply interested in the rhetorical side of the profession. The taste for poetry, however, was pronounced even in early childhood. As he himself tells us in one amusing passage: "My father often said to me, 'why do you take up this pursuit? There's nothing in it. Why, Homer himself, the bard of bards, died without a penny!' I felt the force of his words, and I even tried again and again to write in prose, but always,—

*Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos
Et quod temptabam scribere versus erat."*

A famous couplet and the original of those well known lines of Pope,—

While yet a child and all unknown to fame
I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came,

At the same time Ovid was quite enough of a Roman to be the possessor of a good legal mind. He was admitted to the bar, and without doubt could have become a distinguished lawyer if he had cared to exert himself in that direction. Moreover, the door to the highest honors in the Imperial administration stood open, and Augustus himself was most anxious to see young men of Ovid's position and training ambitious to take part in public affairs. As a matter of fact, the poet actually did fill, and with credit, a number of the regular civil and judicial offices under the new regime, and thus became eligible to the Senate. This honor, however, he declined. He had no taste for the life-long round of official boredom which such a career would undoubtedly have forced upon him.

Then, too, he must have seen clearly as others did that since the fall of the old government the advantages of public life for any man whether honest or dishonest, were more apparent than real. Finally, his naturally easy-going temperament was encouraged by good birth, a comfortable income, and a host of friends among the leaders of his time, especially among those who formed the famous literary circle of Messalla and afterwards of Fabius Maximus. It is for this reason that the works of Ovid are now our principal source of information regarding the literature of the late Augustan Age.

It was in company with Aemilius Macer, a famous poet in his day, that the young Ovid, following a fashion of the time which had been set by Catullus, Cicero, and others, paid a visit to Greece and Asia Minor. In a letter written to Macer from Pontus many years afterwards (2, 10) Ovid recalls the impressions of that journey, more especially of the year spent in Sicily, a country which seems to have had the same fascination for him that it had for Lucretius and Vergil. It is eminently characteristic of Ovid that he should have retained a more vivid and lasting impression of the flowers on Hymettus than of the lectures on philosophy in the Universities of Athens, and of the long hours of conversation with his friend than of the archæological remains at Syracuse.

But to a man of Ovid's temperament there was no place like Rome. Every impression found him alert and sympathetic, but after all he cared more for people than for things, more for humanity than for nature. Here in Rome, his sunny disposition and his intense vitality, his inexhaustible memory and his cultivated taste, his brilliant wit and later his universal fame as a poet, made him a welcome and a prominent member of that brilliant society which had sprung up at the capital under the new regime. In that circle the mere pursuit of pleasure for its own sake which in the days of Sulla and Catullus, two generations before, still showed a certain amount of crudity, was now refined and directed to no small degree by the fact that at no other period in Roman history was the average man so well-read, the average woman so accomplished and polite society as a whole so cultivated in its tastes.

Unfortunately, however, it tolerated every vice but dulness. We inevitably think of periods like the French Regency, or the later days of Louis XV, above all, when we learn that one of the most characteristic peculiarities of the situation was the almost total emancipation of woman from the conventionalities, her disregard

of those proprieties of conduct, which are generally supposed to mark the difference between position and the lack of position. The difficulty of drawing a distinction on the old lines was further increased by the fact that at this time, neither beauty, grace, wit, cultivation nor any of those advantages which we usually associate with birth and breeding were by any means the sole prerogative of the woman whose marriage was a question to be discussed and settled in family conclave. On the contrary, they were quite as likely to be found in a woman who looked upon any marriage as a remote and immaterial event. The result was that between the salon of Julia on the Palatine and the salon of Cynthia in the Subura the difference was more a matter of externals than of essentials.

Like Horace and a few others of the older and sterner generation, Augustus saw the approaching storm and feared it. But, if he had hoped that his various repressive measures were destined to prove effective, he was soon to have a bitter awakening in his own household.

For some years the acknowledged leader of this social world was a woman in whose character and career its virtues and vices and to a certain extent its ultimate fate were reflected and prefigured. This was Julia, the only daughter of Augustus. And she was so distinctly her father's daughter that it was one of the most serious mistakes of his life not to have known her any better. At the age of fourteen she was married to her cousin Marcellus. Two years later she was a widow. At the age of eighteen she was given to Agrippa. At Agrippa's death she was twenty-seven. One year later, Augustus forced her upon his stepson Tiberius. She was an unwilling bride, and he a most unwilling bridegroom.

It will be seen that from first to last this brilliant and beautiful woman had been used by her own father merely as a trump card in his desperate and prolonged game with Destiny. Marcellus was a man whom she could love, Agrippa was a man whom she at least knew better than to trifle with, even if she had been so disposed; but Tiberius, the dark, the silent, the slow of speech, her father's butt as well as her own, the man whose awful possibilities were as little realized by her father as by herself! At this point she rebelled and launched into a career which for the next few years, was marked by a reckless disregard of publicity or of possible consequences. Perhaps she presumed on her father's known dislike of

the man, perhaps she overestimated her own importance, perhaps she was not altogether sane. However that may be, two years B. C., about the time Ovid published his *Ars Amatoria*, the bolt fell. She was disinherited, banished to a small island in the Mediterranean, kept there almost without the necessities of life; and at her death, a short time after, was denied the right of burial in the family tomb.

For a time society was staggered. But in such a circle the deepest impressions are not lasting and lessons of prudence, however severe, are rarely laid to heart. Her daughter, the younger Julia, had now reached maturity, and was surrounded by a society in no way improved by its numerous recruits from the younger generation. Her sorry history is soon told. She proved to be a second edition of her unfortunate mother neither revised nor improved. She followed the same career, and in 8 A. D., met with the same punishment.

Ovid was now in the plenitude of his powers, and the first poet of his time. For fifty years he had been in every respect the spoiled child of Fortune. But Fortune is fickle, and the famous lines of Sophocles warn us (*O. R.*, 1528-30),

To reckon no man happy till ye witness
The closing day; until he pass the border
Which severs life from death, unscathed by sorrow.

Not far from the time of the Younger Julia's disgrace he paid a visit to his friend Maximus Cotta in the Island of Elba. While here he learned that by an imperial edict he had been sentenced to banishment. He was allowed to retain his citizenship and his property, but was ordered to leave Rome at a given date, and take up his residence at Tomi, a small town now called Kustendje, which is situated on the west coast of the Black Sea, a few miles below the mouth of the Danube.

The banishment of Ovid is one of the most famous puzzles in history. What could he have done to call down upon his head that imperial bolt from the blue that blasted his career as a poet and utterly ruined his life as a man?

The traditional explanation is that Ovid was himself a lover of the Elder Julia. This appears as early as the fifth century, and has always been a favorite with the numerous poets and novelists who have dealt with the subject. The explanation is impossible in itself. It is also well attested that Augustus did not punish the

known lover of either Julia with anything approaching such severity. It is even suggested that Ovid was a lover of the Younger Julia. A somewhat elderly Adonis, if this were true! The charge falls to the ground of itself.

Our only source of information is the poet in person. His own statement is that there were two reasons for his banishment. The first was because he had written the *Ars Amatoria*. Now this question has been much discussed and the result of it all is that there is nothing about the poem as a whole to justify or even to cause such a punishment of its writer. It is infinitely more decent, for example, than the fourth elegy of Tibullus' first book, not to mention the only verses which have come down to us under the name of Augustus. If, therefore, the poem really did stir to wrath the Lord's Anointed, it must have been for some cause, for example, some particular passage the contemporary significance of which has long since been forgotten. That this was actually the case is suggested by Miss Elizabeth Haight in an article soon to appear in *The American Journal of Philology*. Otherwise we are forced to conclude that the *Ars Amatoria* as a cause of Ovid's banishment was merely a pretext. And that this was actually the case is suggested if not strongly supported, by the fact that the event did not occur until ten years after the book was published. The second cause of Ovid's banishment, if it really was a second cause, is never stated definitely. But Ovid insists that it was an *error* not a *crimen*, a 'mistake' not a 'crime.' That it nearly concerned Augustus himself is suggested by the fact that through his wife Fabia, who was a friend of the Empress, Ovid had had for some years more or less of an entrée to the Imperial circle. In the case of a man like Ovid, we need not pause to imagine anything like a political plot. Nothing was farther from his thoughts nor more alien to his temperament. On the other hand, the fact that the punishment of the Younger Julia so nearly coincides in time with his own suggests that perhaps the unfortunate poet may have blundered across the path of some one of her numerous intrigues. But why, even then?

If it were worth while to add another guess to the long list already current, I might suggest that Ovid's second reason, though Ovid himself was quite unaware of it, was just as much of a pretext on the part of Augustus as the first one was. In that case, we should have to suppose that the real reason was too flimsy for a

man in the position of Augustus to impart to Ovid himself, much less to publish to the world. At this point, the advice of a once famous character of the Elder Dumas would have been '*cherchez la femme.*' Certainly, experience has shown that when women dabble in the affairs of an imperial government as much as the Empress Livia is even known to have done, a man may be destroyed for a very trifling offence. We know for example, that the political ruin of the famous Maurepas was entirely due to nothing but one indiscreet witticism at the expense of La Pompadour. Perhaps something of this sort may have been the real difficulty in Ovid's case. If so, the chief reason why we have never discovered a sufficient and satisfactory cause for Ovid's banishment is because there really never was one. We should also understand why Augustus who in those later years was very much under his wife's influence failed to exhibit his own characteristic clemency in such cases, and also why still later, Tiberius, who was entirely in his mother's confidence, made no move to rescind the decree passed upon the poet by his predecessor.

However that may be, no reprieve was granted now and no appeal allowed. One of the most touching of Ovid's poems (*Tristia* I, 3) is the one in which he tells us of his last night in Rome. Few things are so depressing anyhow as the atmosphere and general appearance of a house during the hours just preceding the departure of some member of the family. The mere sight of trunks and boxes loitering about waiting to be removed, the litter and disorder caused by hurried packing are trying enough in themselves, even when the contemplated journey is likely to be a happy one. But this journey seemed to sound the knell of hope. This was the last night and he was to leave at dawn. But the man was stunned, he evidently sat like one in a dream with neither the time nor the ability to make the necessary practical preparations (7-10):

nec spatium fuerat, nec mens satis apta parandi:
torpuerant longa pectora nostra mora.
non mihi servorum, comites non cura legendi,
non aptas profugo vestis opidae fuit.

All the household were in tears (21-24):

quocumque aspiceres, luctus gemitusque sonabant,
formaque non taciti funeris intus erat.
femina virque meo, pueri quoque, funere maerent:
inque domo lacrimas angulus omnis habet.

It all reminds him, he adds apologetically, of the fall of Troy. The literary allusion at such a time was entirely characteristic, and it is quite compatible with the deepest and most genuine feeling. Julius Cæsar is not the only man who at the greatest crisis of his life has contented himself with a mere quotation.

Some of the once large circle of friends called in to say good-bye—but not many (15-16):

adloquor extremum maestos abiturus amicos,
qui modo de multis unus et alter erant,

as he says, without further comment. Ovid was rarely bitter, even in his darkest hours, partly perhaps because, after all, he possessed that abiding sense of the realities which is one of the birth-rights of his race. His daughter and only child *Perilla* was far away in Africa. The only one of his family with him was his wife *Fabia*. *Fabia* seems to have exhibited her sorrow in all the different ways recommended by the usage of the best families. She flung herself before the household gods from time to time, she hung about her husband's neck and wept copiously, she appears even to have fainted at intervals. Indeed, at the last moment she clung to him and even threatened to go with him into exile. But she did not go, and Ovid himself was doubtless well aware of the fact that she never would go.

Poor *Fabia*! Criticism of her has usually been such as that suggested by the tone of the previous paragraph. Is it justified? "*Secutæ maritos in exilia coniuges*" says Tacitus (H. l. 2), citing some of the "*bona exempla*" of the dreadful year of the three emperors. Apparently these women were of sterner stuff than was *Fabia*. On the other hand, they belonged to the theatrical period of Stoicism and it is possible that however stern their stuff may have been, they illustrate the almost habitual tendency of Stoic fortitude and the spotlight to appear at the same time and place. At any rate let us not be unjust to *Fabia*. After all she chose the harder part—to stay behind, safeguard her husband's interests and, if possible, secure a mitigation if not a reversal of his sentence. The sensible and practical but inglorious rôle of maintaining an energetic, efficient, and persistent struggle to retrieve disaster is always the harder part. How energetic, wise, and persistent *Fabia* really was we shall never know. Such struggles, no matter how desperate they may be, rarely get into the

spotlight. But even to the very end Ovid never so much as hints that she had failed to do her best.

Those who in the stillness of midnight have had the privilege of gazing upon the Eternal City, glorified and almost unearthly in the light of a summer moon, cannot but be touched by Ovid's description of the last time he was ever to look upon that wonderful picture (27-34):

iamque quiescebant voces hominumque canumque,
Lunaque nocturnos alta regebat equos.
hanc ego suspiciens et ab hac Capitolia cernens,
quae nostro frustra iuncta fuere Lari,
'numina vicinis habitantia sedibus,' inquam,
'iamque oculis numquam templa videnda meis,
dique relinquendi, quos urbs habet alta Quirini,
este salutati tempus in omne mihi!'

The first two lines echo a passage in the *Argonautica* of Varro Atacinus:

desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant:
omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete.

One wonders whether Ovid remembered that happy day when he and his friends had discussed those very lines. A young Spaniard by the name of Seneca was present at the time who long years afterwards recalled the discussion and recorded it in the recollections of his schooldays (*Controversiae*, 16.27, p. 313 κ).

In December of 8 A. D. he was upon the Adriatic, but owing to various stops and delays he did not reach Tomi until more than a year later. He found it more dreary and desolate, more sordid, barbarous, and forbidding, if that were possible, than even Kustendje is today.

The remainder of his life is known to us now only from those various letters to friends, and acquaintances in Rome which form the collections known as the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. They do not add anything to his fame as a poet. It would be unreasonable to expect it. As compared with his earlier work they are like champagne which has become flat. It is only now and then that a passing observation recalls, like a momentary gleam of winter sunshine, the joyous brightness and sparkle of other days. It has often been said that one wearies of the monotonous recurrence of complaints and appeals and is disposed to accuse the man of weakness and lack of dignity. We revise that criticism of him

upon a second reading, and still more upon a third. It was not his fault that he had never been trained in the school of adversity, nor should we forget that the capacity for intense enjoyment is accompanied by an equal capacity for intense suffering. Moreover, it requires reflection as well as sympathy to realize fully the constantly multiplying discomforts of his situation. As a mountaineer he hated the interminable plains about him, as a Roman he dreaded the terrible Russian winter, a winter, too, which in his case, was not alleviated by many of the simplest comforts of civilization. To these were added growing infirmity, the pestilential activity of enemies at home, and towards the end, the unaccustomed burden of poverty.

Furthermore, the situation was one of daily peril. Tomi was on the frontiers of the Empire and was surrounded by all sorts of barbarians and freebooters. In the summer the river was open, and afforded protection from the north. "But even then," says Ovid, "the shepherds wear their helmets, and no ploughman dares to leave his bow and quiver behind him." In the winter as soon as the river was closed the northern savages came across on the ice, and kept the town in a state of siege until spring.

Not that the townsmen themselves showed any striking superiority to their neighbors. They were mostly Goths and Sarmatians guiltless of any language but their own, mere barbarians who, as Ovid remarks with utter scorn, "wear trousers and ride their horses through the streets."

How times have changed! Ten or fifteen years ago one of our small politicians then consul at some Oriental port was dutifully quoted by some of our papers as remarking that, 'it had been fifty years since the British had fought with anybody who wore trousers.' The point of the remark, so far as it had any, was evidently derived from the assumption that when it comes to the higher civilization there is no such outward and visible sign of the inner and spiritual grace as this useful but inartistic article of masculine apparel.

Meanwhile, he could not give up writing. It was his only way of keeping before the world, and his sole hope of ultimate pardon and recall depended upon being remembered. It was, also, the habit of a lifetime, and now, in the absence of books and companions his only way of occupying the long hours of loneliness. But he tells us himself that the inspiration was gone and that what he wrote was generally thrown in the fire at the end of the

day. It was the irony of fate that one who was both by nature and by training a fluent talker and had always derived so much pleasure and inspiration from contact with his fellows should be condemned to a place in which apparently not one man could understand a word he said. "When I speak Latin," he says, "these stupid Goths stand and laugh at me."

It was eminently characteristic of the man, however, that he made every effort to bear up. Like the genuine Roman that after all he was, he played his desperate game to the bitter end, and made every card in his hand count for its full value. He endeared himself to the barbarous folk by whom he was surrounded, he went out and fought with them in their battles, he even learned Gothic and wrote a poem in it. It was hard to wreck the vitality and crush the spirit which he had inherited from those old Sabellian mountaineers. But little by little, the toils closed about him. Augustus died in 14 A. D., and with him perished the last faint hope of recall. Ovid knew well enough that Tiberius never forgot and never forgave anything.

The poet begged that he might be transferred to some other place or at least that he might be buried among his own people. Neither request was granted. The last letter of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (iv, 16)—the date of it is about 17 A. D.—is addressed to some wretch in Rome who was trying to rob him of the only thing he had left, his fame as a poet. In the concluding lines Ovid says:

For me all things are lost: even life itself remains
To huddle ill on ill and to make me feel their pains,
Already I am dying, why stab me o'er and o'er?
My wounds are now so many, no place is left for more.

These might well have been the last lines that Ovid ever wrote, and so far as we know they actually were. *Omni perdidimus*, 'for me all things are lost'—they are the words of one whose spirit was crushed, whose heart was broken. Three centuries and a half later, in the chronicle of St. Jerome, we find the following notice under the year 18 A. D.—"Ovidius the poet died in exile, and was buried near the town of Tomi."

I shall make no attempt in this article to mention many most important points suggested by the study of one who was not only the most brilliant, the most versatile, and one of the most widely read of the Augustan poets, but one also whose surviving work,

from the point of view of bulk alone, is a matter of nearly twenty-five thousand lines.

In spirit, content or form nearly all of it is more or less clearly related to the elegy. Ovid's first publication was a contribution to this department. It consisted of five books of elegies to which he gave the title of *Amores*. At that time he may have been about twenty-five. Several years later, he revised the collection, and cut it down to three books. This he tells us himself in the introductory epigram. Doubtless the revision was distinctly an improvement. At any rate, as the three books inform us with their author's characteristic humor:

ut iam nulla tibi nos sit legisse voluptas,
at levior demptis poena duobus erit.

The *Amores* give Ovid the indisputable right to be called one of the four great elegiac poets of Rome. A few of these elegies which are in his earliest manner and are doubtless a small residuum from the first edition, are addressed to a woman whom he calls Corinna. It is quite likely that she is a mere lay figure, although for centuries she was identified with Julia, the daughter of Augustus.

The remaining elegies were probably written for the most part between the first and second edition, and show how soon he began to develop the traditional type upon his own lines. Two of the most important things by which this development was fostered and directed were his temperament and the fact that he had been a trained rhetorician before he began to write poetry.

Ovid's keen and vivid imagination was interested in the elegy as a department. It is not for him a vehicle of strong personal emotion, of sentiment or of passion. This is one of the principal reasons why in theme, treatment, and point of view, the *Amores* are so conspicuously Alexandrian. The lightness, the gayety, the delicate irony, the gilded mockery, are all distinctively Ovidian; but in these respects he is most akin to the best Alexandrian poets.

For example (1, 2), while discoursing on the power of Cupid over gods and men, the poet says (23):

Go, crown your brows with myrtle, let mother's doves be joined,
Stepfather Mars shall give you a chariot to your mind;
Thence drive your winged coursers, and as you pass along,
'Hail to the conquering hero,' shall echo from the throng.
To grace your glorious pageant shall captive maids and swains
March two by two before you—and everyone in chains!

I, too, your latest captive, in all my humbled pride,
 Must march in strange new fetters, with wounds I cannot hide.
 Good Sense, and Shame, and Wisdom, and whatsoever may
 Oppose the schemes of Cupid shall walk in gyves that day;
 Aye, everything shall fear you, and all the surging crowd
 Shall wave their hands to Cupid, and cheer him long and loud.
 And Flatteries, and Folly, and Madness shall ride there,
 Your body-guard and escort, ready to do and dare:
 Nor gods nor men withstand them, they follow where you lead;
 Were you to lose those troopers, you would be poor indeed!
 Your mother from Olympus shall watch her glorious boy,
 Shall shower him with red roses, and clap her hands for joy.
 With wings begemmed and tresses blazing with gems untold,
 And all in golden armour, shalt ride on wheels of gold.
 Your shafts will fly then even—you cannot stay their flight,
 Your fires will burn—I know you—aye, in your own despite;
 The innocent bystanders will, every way you turn,
 Be stricken with your arrows and with your torches burn.

Here is a genuine Roman picture entitled, "The Triumph of Cupid." It is also a Hellenistic fresco of the best period. This happy combination of Roman and Greek art is highly characteristic of Ovid's methods and genius.

Equally characteristic and at the same time showing plain traces of his practical training as a rhetorician is i, 13. In fact, the piece seems to be nothing more nor less than a rhetorical expansion of material already dealt with in Greek epigrams of the Hellenistic period. A few of these epigrams still survive in the Greek Anthology. The theme is the Parting of Lovers at Dawn, a theme which in the Mediæval 'Tagelieder' and in those charming poems of the Troubadours known as 'Albas' grew to the dignity of an entire department of literature. On the English side the type is echoed more or less distantly by the old ballad of 'Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard.'¹ In the ballad, however, the lovers tarried too long, and this element of tragedy does not seem to be characteristic of the Alba. It might appear at first sight that the Alba was a genuine modern production. But in the way of literary types nothing is modern. Athenæus (15, 697 b), writing in the third century of our era, quotes a Locrian Alba. Scholars are doubtless right in their contention that this song is neither old nor popular in the strict sense of the words. But at all events, it is older than the Troubadours by a thousand years, and the mere existence of it

¹ Chaucer, *Troilus* III, 1450 ff. is reminiscent of Ovid himself.

is enough in itself to suggest that even in ancient Greece there were popular prototypes of those epigrams of the second and third century B. C., which Ovid had before him. The metre of the Locrian song cannot be reproduced in English, but both metre and language indicate that the speaker, a woman, or rather the woman, is nearly inarticulate with fright and excitement:

ὦ τί πάσχεις; μὴ προδῶς ἄμμι'. ἱκετεύω.
 πρὶν καὶ μολεῖν κείνον, ἀνίστω, μὴ κακὸν
 μέγα ποιήσῃ σε κάμῃ τὴν δειλάκραν.
 ἄμέρα δέ, τὸ φῶς διὰ τὰς θυρίδας οὐκ εἰσερχῆς;

Oh gods, what do you! rise with speed!
 Before he comes, or ever you betray
 Yourself and me! indeed, indeed,
 I am so frightened! go, oh go, I pray!
 Look at the window! see, 'tis light, 'tis day!

By way of comparison, I subjoin what seems to me one of the best of the Troubadour Albas:

Quan lo rossinhols escria
 Ab sa par la nueg e'l dia
 Yeu suy ab ma bell' amia
 Ios la flor,
 Tro la gaita de la tor
 Escria: 'drutz, al levar!
 Qu'ieu vey l'alba e'l iorn clar.'

Whilst the nightingale is crying
 To his mate, and night is flying,
 Then my love and I are lying
 In her bower,
 Till the watch cries from his tower:
 'Up, thou lover and away!
 Lo, the Dawn, 'twill soon be day!'

It will be said perhaps that the Locrian Alba sounds much more modern than does the Troubadour Alba. This is not the fault of my translation, it is because as a matter of fact, we are in many ways much nearer the ancients than were our ancestors of five hundred and a thousand years ago.

Let us now see how this theme sounds when subjected to rhetorical expansion, and presented as an elegy by the greatest master of the art in Roman literature:

The old man's fair-haired consort, whose dewy axle-tree
 Brings morning to us mortals, now rises from the Sea.

I pray you, stay, Aurora; and to your Memnon's shade
A sacrifice—I vow it—shall every year be made.
'Tis now my love is by me, her lips are mine to kiss,
Her arms are twined about me—is any hour like this!
'Tis cool and one is sleepy, and from their slender throats
The little feathered songsters pour forth their liquid notes.
Now prithee, Rosy Fingers, why take such parlous pains
To hurry? No one wants you! Then stay those dewy reins.
Ere you arrive the sailor can watch his stars and keep
His course, nor wander blindly amid the vasty deep;
With you, the weary traveller must rise and hie away,
Must rise the cruel soldier and arm him for the fray;
The hind resumes his mattock and grubs the stubborn soil,
The slow and patient oxen begin their day of toil;
Schoolboys you cheat of slumber, to go at your commands
Where pedagogues are waiting to smack their tender hands;
You summon to the courthouse the bailmen, where they taste
The pain of paying dearly for one word said in haste;
The lawyers find you hateful, i'faith, and always will:
You wake them every morning to new contention still.
That girls cease toiling sometimes, 'twere surely fair to ask,
But no; you rouse the spinners each to her daily task.
All else I might put up with; but who was ever known
To make the girls rise early, who had one of his own?
How oft, I've prayed that Darkness refuse to give you place,
How oft, that Stars might brave you, nor flee before your face,
How oft I've prayed some whirlwind an axletree might twist,
Or that a courser stumble and stick in some thick mist!
Why hurry, spiteful goddess? I see it now, alack,
Why Memnon was so swarthy—his mother's heart was black!
I wish poor old Tithonus had power to testify
To what he knows—'twould make you the scandal of the sky!
Your spouse is old and feeble; that's why you leave your bower,
And mount your hateful chariot at such an early hour!
If Cephalus replaced him, you know you'd clasp him tight,
And cry out, 'Pray, go slowly, ye coursers of the Night!'
Why peester me, a lover? Your spouse is all but dead,
But did I urge him on you, or ever bid you wed?
How oft, the while he slumbers, our sovereign Lady Moon—
And she more fair than you are—comes to Endymion!
Jove joined two nights in one; I dare swear the tale is true,
For Jove was then a lover—and tired of seeing you!
You'd know Aurora heard me—she turned so rosy red:
The day though came no later, in spite of all I said.

It will be seen that there is no hint of tragedy here, and in fact there was no reason to expect it. In this respect as well as in his general attitude to the theme he is a genuine precursor of the

Albas of the Troubadours, as well as a successor to the spirit of the Hellenistic epigrams dealing with this subject.

It may be observed in passing that Ovid treats Aurora here quite as though she were a social leader in contemporary life, and that he does not hesitate to give one of his characteristic humorous turns to the old tale of Alcmena and the father of gods and men. The attitude is eminently characteristic of Ovid. It indicates, of course, that neither he nor his circle of friends really believed in the Græco-Roman gods any more than we do. But, as we shall see when we come to the *Heroides*, the attitude also reflects an important principle of conscious poetic art.

A moment ago I mentioned the fact that this elegy was merely the rhetorical expansion of an old theme. One of the earmarks of rhetoric is the examples of those who have to rise betimes. They are all conventional, and come straight from the rhetorical schools. Moreover, this elegy is itself merely a *suasoria*.

It is not, however, so deliberately and so manifestly a *suasoria* as 1, 9, the famous 'Militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupidio.' First of all the orator with mock solemnity formally states his theme:

All lovers are campaigners, and Cupid has his wars:
Yes, Atticus, all lovers are genuine sons of Mars.

Then follow in regular succession the proofs—a series of parallels taken for the most part from the motives familiar to elegiac poetry in general:

Your soldier must be youthful, your lover be the same
Old soldiers are a pity, old lovers are a shame;
Your general chooses soldiers ready to do and dare,
Your pretty girl a lover with strength and pluck to spare;
Both spend all night on duty; the soldier stands before
The quarters of his general, the lover guards her door;
The soldier makes long marches, but whereso'er you send
A girl, be sure her lover will track her to the end;
No mountain peak can stop him, he'll find a way to go
Through roaring winter torrents, through sleet and drifting snow,
Although he be no sailor you'll never hear him say,
'I see a storm is coming,' 'tis quite too rough today.'
A lover or a soldier—what others would you find
Unmoved by cold and darkness, by driving sleet or wind?

Who think of Love as slothful will find 'tis otherwise;
Love is the soul of action, the soul of enterprise.

Having proved this assertion by a number of parallels, including one from his own experience, the orator closes the case for the affirmative with the usual *quod erat demonstrandum*.

The rhetorical schools were the literary and social clubs of antiquity. The Elder Seneca, who nearly sixty years later wrote of his school days in Rome, tells us that Ovid and his friends used to meet in these schools and discuss all manner of subjects for hours at a time. The *Amores* still echo with more than one of these discussions. In II, 10, for example, Ovid says, 'You assured me, Græcinus, that it was utterly impossible for one man to love two women at once. I thought you knew what you were talking about, and I believed you. The result is that I am now fully equipped to sustain the negative.'

By the time we have reached the end of these elegies we find that the orderly and methodical Ovid has touched upon practically every phase of his subject. Throughout them all speaks the polished man of the world, the whimsical and humorous observer of the *grande passion*. It was but a step to the *Ars Amatoria*. But meanwhile, the dramatic possibilities of the *suasoria* had led him to his second great work, the *Heroides*. From this point of view they are really an offshoot of his own elegy.

As the name indicates the *Heroides* are a collection of letters supposedly written by the famous women of poetry or mythology to their husbands or lovers. In three cases, Paris and Helen, Leander and Hero, Acontius and Cydippe, we have the man's letter to the woman and her reply.

The *Heroides* fully deserved the enthusiasm with which they were greeted. Here for the first time, we meet with one of the most striking features of Ovid's maturer genius. This is his marvellous ability to analyze, understand, and sympathize with all the subtler phases and cross-currents of feminine character, and impulse, and his consummate skill in bringing them home to the reader through the woman herself.

The *Heroides* have always been popular, and to this day have lost but little of their intrinsic interest. They were a favorite with Boccaccio, the main source of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, the model of Drayton's *Heroical Epistles*. The much disputed letter of Sappho to Phaon, which lives for us in the translation of Pope, is perhaps, for that very reason, the best known.

One of the most striking characteristics of these women of the

Heroic Age is their modernity. The effect is deliberate on the part of Ovid, and the results are a sufficient vindication of his artistic insight. Phædra, for instance,—and her letter is a *suasoria* so skilful as all but to blind the reader to the real issue,—is a mature and beautiful woman of the Augustan Age who, having struggled desperately but vainly with her passion, now sets to work deliberately to gain her end at any cost. Penelope, the devoted wife, but as fully alive to the seamy side of her husband's character as devoted wives are likely to be, is certainly quite at home in any period. Paris and Helen might easily be aristocratic members of the contemporary smart set in Rome with which Ovid was himself acquainted. They know every rule in the game of intrigue *à la mode*, and beneath their courtly rhetoric and polished exterior they are corrupt to the core.

One can hardly believe that the author who gives us these *Arcades ambo*, this precious pair, is the same one who has also given us the immortal priestess of Sestos writing her long letter from her lonely tower by the Hellespont, as any charming and cultivated Roman girl might have done, loving her lover with all her heart, and telling him so with innocent frankness, meanwhile pausing to describe in the most natural way and even with an endearing touch of humor, all the little happenings of her life. For instance, after describing the usual events of the day, Hero says (32, f.) :

So when the day is over and kindlier night draws nigh,
And stars in twinkling radiance are glittering in the sky,
We haste to light the beacon, the flare of which is wont
To guide your long, long journey across the Hellespont;
Then come those hours of waiting, and womanlike the while
We turn our thoughts to spinning, and so the time beguile.
'Meanwhile what do I talk of,' you ask; 'well, if you heard,
You'd say that one 'Leander' came every second word.
'Dear Nurse, think you he's left yet? or that he is afraid
Lest all are not yet sleeping, and thus has been delayed?'
Poor Nurse! she goes on nodding, but when I take a peep,
I fear she's not assenting—but merely dead with sleep!
Some moments pass in silence: 'He must be swimming now,
His arms in rhythmic cadence straight through the waters plough.'
Some lengths of yarn are finished, and then again I say,
'Think you perhaps by this time he may have come halfway?'
And then I mount my watchtower, and frightened breathe a prayer,
If any breezes find you that they may blow you fair;

At every wind that whispers my heart is stirred anew,
 And every sound that greets me, I hope, is made by you:
 And so the night drags onward with hours that scarcely creep,
 Until, worn out with watching, at last I fall asleep.

Ovid's next great work both in quality, purpose, and point of view was a complete contrast to the *Heroides*. Nevertheless, this also grew out of the *Amores*, and here too the growth was largely facilitated by practical rhetoric.

This was the *Ars Amatoria*, published 2 B. C., a humorously didactic treatise on the principles and practice of love-making. All the *causes célèbres*, all the conventional and unconventional situations in any possible love affair had long ago been furnished by the Comedy, and the Epigram, as well as by the Elegy. The relation of the *Ars Amatoria* to these three departments is very much the same as that of a digest to the complete set of reports from which it has been compiled.

A cleverer satire on the whole subject has never been written. Everyone will have noticed that meticulous elaboration of details, that serious, I had almost said that reverential feeling which, for example, all gastronomic experts from Arcestratos to Delmonico have shown in dealing with their subject. Ovid caught this tone to perfection, as, of course, he intended to do, and unites it with the dogmatic attitude of the University professor. The point of view is indicated, first of all, by the exaggerated precision with which he arranges and develops his topics according to the formal rules of rhetoric.

In all things, he says, there is nothing so important as systematic method. Having proved the assertion by a number of purposely familiar and commonplace illustrations, he then states that this treatise will be divided into three parts:

First: Where girls are to be found. Rome of course. For girls of all sorts, kinds and descriptions, there is certainly no place like Rome. Under this head we may consider in detail,—the promenades, the theatre, the circus, the temples, the public festivals, the watering places, etc., etc.

Second: How the girl you have selected is to be won. Under this head, the author dilates upon the value of confidence and *aplomb*—'faint heart never won fair lady'—of making one's self popular with the servants, of taste in dress and care of one's personal appearance. Of course, here as elsewhere, tact is invaluable.

One's speech should always be cultivated and refined, but never obtrusively so. Remember that oratorical periods have no place in polite conversation and that no poet in his right mind would dream of reading his verses to a girl. Above all, do not forget the *petits soins*:

Parva levis capiunt animos: fuit utile multis
 Pulvinum facili composuisse manu:
 Profuit et tenui vento movisse tabellam
 Et cava sub tenerum scamna dedisse pedem.

Light minds are caught by trifles: merely a taking way
 Of shifting sofa-pillows has often won the day:
 A happy knack of handling a fan, or when 'tis meet,
 Of pushing up an ottoman beneath those pretty feet.

Third and most important: How the girl you have found and won is to be kept.

Here the discussion is largely based upon the eminently sound general principle that if you expect to retain a girl's affections you must not allow the methods by which you won them to lapse into innocuous desuetude. Of course, Ovid is not blind to the value of beauty. At the same time, he is keenly alive to the fact that it cannot last. For the time, however, he has assumed the didactic attitude, and, like every good teacher, he is well aware that pessimism is never instructive. And then, too, his nature—he was married three times—was inherently buoyant and hopeful. He, therefore, gives the following excellent advice to his class of young men (2, 99):

Try no Thessalian potions, give no hippomanes;
 'Tis labor lost for suitors to turn to aids like these;
 Not all the magic simples Medea's self could give,
 Not all the Marsian ditties, can make a passion live;
 The Colchian had kept Jason, the Wanderer's willing arms
 Had still encircled Circe—were love the thrall of charms;
 Eschew them all! For philtres are worse than merely vain:
 They hurt the understanding, they drive a girl insane.
 If you would charm, be charming—a thing which, be assured,
 No face, no form, unaided, has ever yet procured;
 Though you be fair as Nireus, whom Homer loved to sing,
 Or Hylas, whom the Naiads hid in their woodland spring,
 If you would keep your sweetheart, nor wake amazed to find
 Some morning she has left you—you must improve your mind!
 A fragile thing is beauty, and with increasing years
 It must, perforce, diminish—until it disappears;

The violet and lily are soon enough out-worn,
 The fairest rose will wither—and leave an ugly thorn;
 And you, my handsome fellow, your hair will soon be gray,
 And seams and hateful wrinkles—they, too, are on the way:
 Build up your mind, for beauty some solid prop requires,
 And that alone stands by you until your funeral fires.
 Take pains to be accomplished; a gentleman will find
 Both languages are needful to cultivate the mind:
 Ulysses was not handsome, and yet 'tis evident
 That goddesses adored him—the man was eloquent!
 How oft when he was leaving, Calypso prophesied
 A sea too rough and stormy for any boat to ride:
 How oft she craved his story, how oft he told the tale,
 Yet with such an art he told it, it never once grew stale.
 Once on a time she asked him—as many times before—
 To tell the death of Rhesus. They stood upon the shore.
 So, with a stick—he held one, it happened, in his hand—
 He pictured out his story upon the hard, wet sand.
 'Now here was Troy,' he told her, and traced the walls, 'and where
 You see this line, the Simois. My camp was over there.
 Here was the field—he drew it—'where Dolon and his host
 Guarded the Thracian horses; we slew them at their post.
 And there, the tents of Rhesus; and this would be the track
 I followed with his horses that night, when I came back.'
 Here, while he still was drawing, a billow by mishap
 Smote city, camp, and Rhesus—and wiped them off the map!
 'Now look you,' cried the goddess, 'how can you hope the sea
 That whelms such names as those are, will let you go scot-free!'
 So, lovers, 'tis with beauty; and hence, I bid you seek
 For things of greater value than just a fine physique.

Another important point: don't be harsh and disagreeable. Love is tender. It thrives best in an atmosphere of pleasant words. Be generous, too, and thoughtful. For instance, if you play chess with her, let her win the game. Or, if she happens to fall ill, be sure and take care of her yourself. But not if she is too ill. In that case, she is unattractive and she knows it.

The question of presents is, I confess, a delicate matter. They must not be forgotten. At the same time they should never be too expensive. It is a bad precedent and likely to spoil her. Besides, if you are a poet, you can't afford it. Some send verses. But personally I don't advise it. The fact is, poetry doesn't count for much in these days.

There are, however, two classes of girls who are exceptions to this rule. The first consists of the girls who really have literary cultiva-

tion—a *rarissima turba*—very few and very far between! The second consists of those who are not cultivated, but who would like to be. If the girl belongs to either one of these classes, you can send her a poem. The poem, however, should be addressed to her personally, and must be entirely concerned with herself. In that case, she may possibly be willing to accept it in lieu of a small gift.

Never ask a woman her age, especially if she is past her first youth. Above all, keep her thoroughly convinced that you are utterly dazzled by her beauty and dumbfounded by her accomplishments. To cite a single example: Always observe what she happens to have on, and always find it most admirable. Be assured that the lover of Medusa herself, so long as he observes this golden rule, need never be afraid of being turned to stone!

In the third book, which is addressed to the women, the same rhetorical division of topics is repeated. I should add, perhaps, that here as in the elegy generally, the woman addressed is always a freed-woman or her social equivalent. According to the famous ironclad law of Augustus, *De Maritandis Ordinibus*, she could not contract a legal marriage with any man above a certain class.

The *Ars Amatoria* has been called the most immoral poem ever written. In my opinion, the criticism is eminently unjust. As a matter of fact it is like an old folk tale, more unmoral than immoral. The men and the women of the *Ars Amatoria* are like the characters of the Restoration Drama. They live in a world of their own. If this 'jewel of frivolity,' as Ribbeck well termed it, had been clouded or flawed by the slightest trace of sentiment, it undoubtedly would have been demoralizing. As it is, I am sure that no one was ever seriously harmed by reading it. On the contrary, more than one great author in the past has been distinctly stimulated by it. The book is filled with brilliant passages and quotable lines. Those who enjoy cultivated wit of a high order for its own sake can always return to the *Ars Amatoria* with renewed pleasure.

The *Remedia Amoris* was published after the *Ars Amatoria*, and is a sort of palinode. The reader who has been instructed by the *Ars Amatoria* how to fall in love is supposed to learn from this work how to fall out again.

We now reach the second period of Ovid's literary development. Despite the brilliancy of his earlier works, his greatest gift—that of story-telling—was still unknown and unrealized. It was not

until the *Ars Amatoria* that he himself appears to have recognized it. From then until his banishment, the period of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, he gave full play to this aspect of his genius.

The *Metamorphoses* were looked upon by Ovid as his masterpiece, and of all his surviving works they are the most familiar to modern times. In plan, in atmosphere and in general character, the poem may be briefly described as the *Arabian Nights* of the Roman World. Like the *Arabian Nights*, it is a collection of stories set in a framework. The one thread of connection is the fact that in every story is found the change, the *metamorphosis*, of some character to another form. For this reason, the atmosphere of the marvellous, also inherent in the *Arabian Nights*, is never absent. Each story is set with the appropriate surroundings of natural scenery, woods and mountains, valleys and streams, sea and shore, somewhat conventionalized perhaps, as compared with some of our modern poets who have yet to learn the proper function of a background, but never inharmonious and always charming. The scenery of the *Metamorphoses* lives again on the pages of Ariosto and in the paintings of the Renaissance. The transition from story to story are managed with such consummate skill as almost to produce the effect of a continuous poem.

Ovid's enormous acquaintance with the literature of Hellenism was never used to better advantage. Not only various adventures of gods and goddesses which are already familiar to us in the great poets, but also fireside legends from books of which we have never heard, romantic tales from that immense Alexandrian literature which has long since completely disappeared, all the famous love stories of old are here. They are each and every one told with the same vividness and simplicity, the same rapidity and dramatic effect, the same marvellous command of all the resources of rhetoric, and, that which reminds us so much of Ariosto at his best, the same endearing touch of irony and whimsical fancy. He is the true story-teller. Whoever the character may be, he understands his motives, sympathizes with them, at least for the time being, and knows how to bring them out. Hence it comes that whether he relates the charming folk tale of Pyramus and Thisbe, or the horrid passion of a Myrrha or a Byblis, we find the same sympathy, the same gusto, the same truth to nature. I know of no other long poem except the *Odyssey* in which the interest so seldom flags.

The *Fasti* or *Calendar*, is a poem on the various feast and fast

days of the Roman year, their origin, significance, the legends connected with them, etc. Except for the few stories it contains, the interest of the *Fasti* for a modern reader is largely archæological. The last six of the original twelve books have disappeared.

The poems of Ovid's exile, in so far as they still survive, must be briefly dismissed. The *Ibis* is a cursing poem of 650 lines, doubtless modelled on the famous *Ibis* of Callimachus, now lost. It is of more interest to the student of folk lore and of literary types than to the general reader. We also have the fragment of a *Halieutica*, a poem describing different kinds of fishes. It is probably no worse than others of the same sort. He had also written another quasi-scientific poem in his youth of which a fragment still remains, a curious symptom of the prominence of woman in the Augustan Age and of Ovid's interest in everything concerning her. This is the *De Medicamine Faciei*, 'On the Care of the Complexion.' The principal productions of the Exile, the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, have already been mentioned. Some pathetic signs of failing power are occasionally visible. Among the works that have not survived the most deplorable loss is the tragedy of *Medea*, which the best critics of antiquity called his masterpiece.

Ovid has often been called the "Bard of Love." But as we ponder upon his work, nothing becomes more evident than the fact that from the beginning to the end of his career, Ovid was always the poet who wrote about love, never the lover who wrote in poetry. To all appearance, Tibullus spent his short life loving one woman after another, and writing of each. Propertius never loved but one, and spent a lifetime exploring every nook and corner of her soul. Ovid was like neither of these men. Ovid was never a lover of *women*, he was always a lover of *woman*. He observed her ways and her methods, he studied her character and her emotions, and few have ever understood her better. This is one of several reasons why he was also one of the great story-tellers of the world's literature.

As a metrical artist he also takes his place among the great poets of the world. In this respect he did for Roman poetry what Cicero had already done for Roman prose. He found it more or less local and left it capable of universal use for an indefinite period. With the exception of the *Metamorphoses*, the bulk of his work is in the Elegiac Distich. He developed this famous verse in his own way, used it with dazzling effect and portentous dexterity; and as he

left it, so it has ever since remained. So too the hexameter, in which he wrote the *Metamorphoses*, was a special development of his own—light, graceful, nimble, a carrier of narrative, in other words, a story-teller's verse, not a poet's verse like Vergil's. It was often imitated, but it was never equalled again.

The general effect of his work was in one way not less important than its form. As Mr. Mackail well says, "he fixed a certain ideal of civilized manners for the Latin Empire and for Modern Europe." And it is not alone the afternoon of that long Augustan day of which he was himself the one great representative poet, but also that realm peopled by the Græco-Roman fancy with so many exquisite forms of youth and love and beauty that live for us now as then in the brilliant pages of Ovid.

In considering the work of Ovid as a whole, it is curious as well as significant to observe that the base upon which it stands, the trunk from which it all spreads like so many branches of a great tree, is the *Amores*. Not only the germ, the idea, of what he afterwards did in the matter of literary forms is traceable in the *Amores*, but most of the ideas and a large proportion of the situations reappear with variations, sometimes again and again, in his later productions. One of the most notable characteristics of Ovid is his inveterate habit, especially in his later work, of imitating himself. This is one of the reasons why, except when he is telling a story, Ovid, like Heine, should not be taken in too large doses.

How and why the branches of Ovid's work grew from the main trunk of the *Amores* is practically explained if we bear in mind that he was first, last, and always, a rhetorician; and in addition to this that he had certain strongly marked tastes in the field of rhetoric itself. The elder Seneca, who knew him personally, says that Ovid hated argument, and therefore that he never declaimed *controversiae* in the school, unless they were *ethicae*, i. e., questions of conduct. It is added, however, that he was especially fond of *suasoriae*. Now we have already seen that some of the most notable pieces in the *Amores* are really *suasoriae*, that the *Heroides* are nothing more nor less than so many *suasoriae* in epistolary form, that the *Ars Amatoria* is one long lesson in the art of suasion. I may add that in the *Metamorphoses* many of the finest passages are *suasorial*, and that all those passages painting the conflict of warring impulses in the human breast, and here Ovid is excelled by none, are really so many adaptations of the *controversia ethica*.

I need not mention the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. They are all *suasoriae*.

But irrespective of his tendency to repeat himself, there is also another reason why, except when he is telling a story, Ovid becomes tiresome, if we take him in too long stretches. This is the fact that he is prone, especially in his earlier poems, to throw up too many fireworks, to give too many examples, to dally with his thought. In a word, he is too diffuse. And at times, we are irritated by the conviction that fine as he is, he could have been much finer if he had chosen to be. That this was actually true we learn from Seneca's famous story of the three verses, which is evidently the foundation of Quintilian's well-known criticism that Ovid was *Nimum amator ingenii sui*. Further down Quintilian adds, 'In my opinion, the *Medea* shows how eminent Ovid might have been if he had chosen to discipline his genius instead of indulging it.'

But despite his faults—and, after all they are a small matter as compared with his virtues—Ovid not only commands our admiration as one of the world's great poets, but also wins and holds our affections as a man. His personality is peculiarly winning. His very whimsicality and his humor appeal to us. Of all Romans Ovid is the most distinctly humorous. And when we consider his kindliness, his generous appreciation of other people's work, his frankness and utter freedom from meaner motives, we are ready to insist that he was in every respect far better than the circle in which he lived. Right or wrong, we resent the sentence that broke his heart and brought him down to death, a stranger in a strange land, disgraced, despoiled and deserted.

How much it would have meant to him in those last dark hours if he had been vouchsafed a vision of the far future. It would have shown him that all was not to be lost, it would have shown him an unique and wonderful literary tradition in which he was the central figure. Strangest of all, indeed one wonders whether he himself would have been able to believe it, it would have shown him that long after the great empire which crushed him had ceased to be, it would be the children's children of those same barbarians "who wore trousers and rode their horses through the streets" that would vie with his own people in studying his works, cherishing his memory, and continuing his fame.

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SENATORIAL SPEECHES AND LETTERS IN TACITUS' ANNALS

BY G. A. HARRER

PART I

It is the purpose of this study to examine the methods of Tacitus in the composition of the speeches and letters which are included in his reports of meetings of the senate, in the hope of determining their value as history.

All ancient historians, Greek and Roman, embellished their works with many and long speeches, put in the mouths of persons of the period concerned, but having often little or nothing in common with the speeches actually delivered. More than this, the historians often composed speeches for occasions on which none were in fact delivered. Many inserted such speeches to break the monotony of the narrative, to present to the reader an interesting piece of rhetoric, in other words, for the sake of the style, not the historical accuracy. Thucydides among the Greek historians took a higher standard. And he alone has stated his method of procedure: "As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have, therefore, put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said."¹

The difficulty of obtaining accurate reports of speeches was often undoubtedly very great; but even when such were to be had the ancient historian would rarely insert the actual speech, but, if he took the trouble to consult it at all, would condense it and rewrite it in his own words, partly for brevity's sake, partly for the sake of the rhetorical principle, unity of style. Among the Romans Livy sometimes followed this method, but with such extreme lack of regard for the substance of his model that the most of his speeches have very slight historical value.²

¹ Thucydides, I, 22, Jowett's translation.

² W. Soltan, *Livius' Geschichtswerk*, pp. 3, and 15-16.

There were available, as sources for the senatorial speeches in Tacitus, materials of the first order. The proceedings of the senate, *Acta Senatus*, included the speeches of the senators and of the emperors in full.³ The *Acta* was accessible, for we know that Tacitus consulted them in the composition of the *Annals*, though to what extent is disputed.⁴ Another authentic source accessible, and actually referred to by Tacitus, was Tiberius' speeches.⁵ Other collections of speeches may well have been used. Tacitus certainly knew the speeches of the senator Q. Haterius.⁶ It is possible that at least the purport of many speeches delivered in the senate was to be had in the memoirs of prominent people, such as the *Commentarii* of Agrippina, and of Tiberius.⁷ Collections of the letters of prominent men would have been of value, since they would often cast side lights on the circumstances under which speeches were delivered, as well as give the substance of speeches. This kind of material is very nicely illustrated in the collected correspondence of Cicero, and of Pliny.⁸ Sessions of the senate are outlined, the purpose of the speakers is mentioned, their bearing and the attitude of their hearers are described. Speeches are not, of course, given in full, but in substance, sometimes with quotation of significant remarks. No such collection of letters is, however, referred to by Tacitus, though he certainly made use at first or second hand of the letters of Tiberius. Fabia believes that these

³ Peter, *Die Geschichtliche Litteratur Über Die Römische Kaiserzeit*, vol. I, pp. 207-208, and particularly the reference to G. Haenel, *Codices Gregorianus, Hermogenianus, Theodosianus, Gesta in senatu urbis Romae de recipiendo codice Theodosiano*, pp. 82-88. Cf. Mommsen-Meyer, *Codex Theodosianus*, pp. 1-4.

⁴ See Fabia, *Les Sources de Tacite*, pp. 315-316. Tacitus, A., xv, 74: *Reperio in commentariis senatus*. . . .

⁵ Tacitus, A., I, 81: *diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in ipsius (Tiberii) orationibus reperiuntur*. A., II, 63: *catat oratio, qua magnitudinem viri . . . catulit (Tiberius)*. Suetonius also very probably used them, see *Tiberius*, 28; 67, 3. The speeches of Tiberius were probably collected and published, and his letters possibly included. See Fabia, p. 327 ff. It is of course possible that the speeches were consulted by Tacitus and Suetonius not in a collection, but in the *Acta*.

⁶ A., iv, 61.

⁷ A., iv, 53: *Id ego, a scriptoribus annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae*. See also Suetonius, *Tiberius* 61, 1.

⁸ Cicero, *Ad Att.*, I, 16, 9-10; iv, 1, 7; *Ad Quintum Fr.*, II, 3. Pliny, II, 11; vi, 5, ix, 13, 7 ff.

letters were published, and that Tacitus sometimes made use of them.⁹

In addition to these materials, there were secondary sources, the works of historians. Tacitus names none of them in the first six books, covering the reign of Tiberius; but he refers to them in general terms often enough, and to contemporaries of the events described.¹⁰ In the second part of the *Annals*, besides such general citations, individual historians are named, Fabius Rusticus, Cluvius Rufus, and Pliny the Elder.¹¹ It is well known that Tacitus made very extensive use of these literary sources in the writing of the *Annals*; but it has not been determined of what value they would be as a source for the speeches and letters or to what extent he used them for that purpose.

For assistance in attacking this problem, which will include to some extent Tacitus' relations to primary sources, there are no longer in existence any of the literary works which served as Tacitus' sources. There are, however, works covering the same period, Suetonius' biographies and the history of Cassius Dio. Stray references here and there, as in Pliny and Seneca, are sometimes useful. Then, too, the study of the *Annals* gives us internal evidence.

Suetonius from the very nature of his work does not give speeches in full; but he often gives quotations, which are generally considered genuine, from them, especially from speeches of the emperors. Quite often he refers in some way to proceedings of the Senate. It is important to examine those passages which have any bearing on the problem.

In the first place those with which there is no correspondence at all, or only a very slight correspondence in Tacitus. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 23: *Iure autem tribuniciae potestatis coacto senatu incohataque adlocutione derepente velut impar dolori congemuī, utque non solum vox sed et spiritus deficeret optavit ac perlegendum librum Druso filio tradidit.* The only parallel in Tacitus to this passage is the statement that by use of his tribunician power Tiberius convoked the senate. The grief of Tiberius is described by Suetonius alone. Such a description could not be based on the

⁹ See note 5. Notice too that Suetonius was able to consult the letters of Augustus, very likely in a collection; *Tiberius*, 21, 4-7.

¹⁰ *E. g.*, *A.*, iv, 10; v, 9; also ii, 88.

¹¹ *A.*, xiii, 20; xiv, 2; xv, 53; also xi, 27; xii, 67; xiii, 17.

Acta Senatus, for of course they presented no such material. This passage, then, and others which need not be quoted,¹² prove that there were to be had literary works which were concerned with more than merely the deliberations and decrees of the senate, works which described how things occurred, and the attitude and mood of the persons concerned. It can be shown that for the last half of the *Annals* as well, such material was to be had. Suetonius, *Claudius* 36 is the best example: *senatum per praecones propere convocavit (Claudius) lacrimisque et vociferatione miseratus est condicionem suam. cui nihil tuti usquam esset.*¹³ Tacitus very often describes the situation in a meeting of the Senate, and the attitude of speakers and the senate.¹⁴ Suetonius' evidence indicates that he had no cause to draw on his imagination for those scenes.

Again, Suetonius quotes verbatim remarks made in the senate, particularly those of the emperor. In *Tiberius* 28 and 29 several statements are quoted, one with the introductory formula: *extat et sermo eius in senatu percivilis*; another, *dissentiens in curia a Q. Haterio*. These remarks are not found in Tacitus. Suetonius also reports statements of Claudius, but I shall not refer to them because, on account of the loss of the account of the early years of Claudius' reign in the *Annals* it is not possible to determine whether Tacitus also included the same remarks or not. There is a remark of Nero to the Senate, no doubt from the early part of his reign, and not reported by Tacitus, in *Nero* 10: *agenti senatui gratias respondit: cum meruero*. To attempt to determine the sources for these quotations in Suetonius is not the purpose of this study. He may have used the *Acta*, and collections of speeches, and very likely literary works as well.¹⁵ In this connection there is one very interesting source reference in *Tiberius* 61, 6: *Annalibus suis vir consularis inseruit, frequenti quodam convivio, cui et ipse affuerit, interrogatum eum (Tiberum) . . . paucos post dies scripsisse senatui . . .*¹⁶ Suetonius evidently found at least one

¹² *Tiberius*, 30 end; 31 end; 70 end; 71 beginning.

¹³ See also *Claudius*, 46.

¹⁴ *E. g.*, *A.*, II, 29; IV, 8-9.

¹⁵ Peter, I, 207; II, 336. Schanz, in *Müllers Handbuch*, VIII, III (1905), pp. 50-52.

¹⁶ It is very likely that this historian was Servilius Nonianus, consul in 35. None of the other early historians known agree in time and position so well with Suetonius' description. See Schanz, VIII, II, 2 (1913), pp. 334-338.

literary source of a contemporary of Tiberius and a senator, who evidently was interested in Tiberius' relations with the senate. But whatever the sources, certain it is that Suetonius believed that he was in a position to quote *ipsissima verba*. His methods in introducing quotations show that plainly enough.¹⁷ Speaking generally, the sources open to Suetonius could also have been used by Tacitus.

Suetonius sometimes very briefly sketches the substance, or part of the substance, of a speech delivered in the senate.¹⁸ There are two or three to which no parallel is found in Tacitus. It is extremely unlikely, from the very character of the biographies, that Suetonius read the originals of these speeches in order to give their substance to the reader. It is almost certain that he would take them at second hand from some earlier writer. In connection with a speech thus sketched a direct quotation is at least once found.¹⁹ It seems very probable that Suetonius has in such a case taken over the direct quotation with the substance of the speech. Here is then a pretty clear proof that Suetonius sometimes at least got his direct quotations not from original, but from secondary sources. It should be noted here again that Suetonius seems to have no doubt as to the genuineness of the remark quoted.

The examination of Suetonius up to this point has indicated that there were literary works, available as sources, which dealt with proceedings in the Senate, giving in substance and in quotation speeches delivered, and describing the circumstances. It remains to examine the passages, in which Suetonius and Tacitus deal with the same speeches and remarks, in order to determine if possible whether or not Tacitus used as sources for speeches the works of earlier historians, and to throw light on the relation of the accounts of Suetonius and Tacitus to each other.

Suetonius, in *Tiberius* 24-25 and Tacitus, *Annals* 1, 11-12, give an account of the scenes in the senate when Tiberius accepted the supreme rule. Both of them tell how carefully and ambiguously Tiberius acted and spoke, and how with apparent reluctance he

¹⁷ E. g., *Tiberius*, 24, 2; *Ipsius verba sunt*.

¹⁸ *Claudius*, 40, 1; 46; 36. To 37 end, there may have been a parallel in the lost section of Tacitus at the beginning of Claudius' reign. So too, a letter of *Tiberius* 65, 1. A most interesting case is the speech delivered by Otho (*Otho*, 7) in the senate on the day of his accession. There is no mention at all in Tacitus (*H.*, II, 47) that any speech was delivered.

¹⁹ *Claudius*, 40, 1.

finally yielded to the prayers of the senators, and became emperor. The atmosphere is the same in both. But Suetonius certainly is not copying Tacitus here. He gives a remark of Tiberius: *amicos increpans ut ignaros quanta belua esset imperium*. Tacitus' remark in chapter 11, *didicisse (Tiberium) quam arduum quam subiectum fortunae regendi cuncta onus*, may parallel the quotation in Suetonius, but cannot have been its source. Again, Suetonius represents some senator as shouting: *aut agat, aut desistat*. To this there is no parallel at all in Tacitus. Now the setting of the scene, the details given, could not have come from an official account such as the *Acta*, or from any collection of speeches. And it is not likely that the scene so pictured would be based on a letter. The comparison would prove then that both writers followed here a common literary tradition, possibly one common source; possibly the memoirs of some prominent man, more likely a historical work. Here is proof then that Tacitus used material other than the *Acta* for accounts of meetings of the Senate.²⁰ It is however no proof that he did not also use the *Acta*.

In *Tiberius* 67, 2-4, Suetonius gives two quotations from a speech of the emperor. The occasion finds its parallel in the *Annals*, I, 72 where Tacitus expresses the thought, especially of the first quotation, in his own words.²¹ The comparison of the two accounts will be particularly interesting in studying Tacitus' rewriting of speeches. As far as concerns the problem of the source, it is clear

²⁰ Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 54, 1, and Tacitus, *A.*, IV, v7 relate Tiberius' criticism of the senate for voting honors to Nero and Drusus. They both quote him indirectly; but the quotations are not the same, though they may complement each other. The comparison would again indicate a literary source.

²¹ Fabia, p. 328, note 4, would have Tiberius' speech in *Annals*, IV, 37-38 as a parallel to Suetonius. So too the Baumgarten-Crusius edition of Suetonius. There is to be sure some similarity between the two passages; but so is there between the two which are now suggested as parallels. And there is a great deal against Fabia's view. In the first place Suetonius dates the occasion near the beginning of Tiberius' reign, and *A.*, I, 72 is concerned with the year 15; but *A.*, IV, 37-38, with the year 25. Of greater significance is another fact, that Suetonius plainly states that the subjects under consideration were the title *pater patriae*, and the senate's proposal to take an oath to support Tiberius' acts, both of which Tiberius refused. Tacitus in I, 72 deals with the same two propositions, and shows the same attitude on the part of Tiberius. Fabia's parallel passage is on another topic.

enough that Suetonius is not using Tacitus here. Apparently he is quoting the speech at first hand, though he may have used an author who quoted the actual speech. There is nothing in Tacitus to indicate the nature of his source; but his indirect quotation of Tiberius indicates that he had before him in substance at any rate the same speech that Suetonius consulted.

For the period covered by the second half of the *Annals* there is a very significant parallel in the Suetonius, *Claudius* 26, 3, and the *Annals* XII, 3-7. The accounts are concerned with the marriage of Claudius and his niece Agrippina. Tacitus naturally is more circumstantial. He represents Vitellius proposing in the senate that Claudius in the state's interest should marry, that he be urged to marry, that Agrippina, though his niece, would be the most suitable, and that such marriages among the people would not be unsuitable. Suetonius, much more briefly, has substantially the same speech. He pluralizes the speaker it is true,²² but that is of no significance as he often generalizes particulars. The speakers propose that "they should compel him to marry her, as a measure very much to the state's interest, and that to others permission be given for like marriages, which up to that time had been considered incestuous." Furthermore, the setting of the narrative is largely the same in both, even to some turns of expression. Agrippina entices Claudius to marry her. Suetonius states: . . . *inlecebris Agrippinae . . . per ius osculi . . . pellectus in amorem*. Tacitus, chapter 3: . . . *Agrippinae inlecebris; ad eum per speciem necessitudinis crebro ventitando pellicit patruum*. Both state that practically no one followed the royal example. Suetonius: *non repertis qui sequerentur exemplum excepto . . .* Tacitus, chapter 7: *Nec tamen repertus est nisi unus talis matrimonii cupitor*. In regard to this one marriage mentioned by Tacitus both have a similar comment. Tacitus says that it was due to the influence of Agrippina. Suetonius says more definitely that Claudius and Agrippina attended the wedding. His statement can not depend on Tacitus' account. Besides this difference, and just as much a part of the narrative, which is evidently a unit, Suetonius very definitely states that there were two other such marriages. Suetonius also has a plus in the statement: *ac vix uno interposito die confecit nuptias*.

²² The plural depends wholly on the spelling *censerent*. If it could be read *censeret*, this slight difference in the narrative would be removed.

Suetonius is evidently not dependent on Tacitus for his account. The close similarities in fact, and in turns of expression then can only be explained by the use of one literary source by both.²³ The conclusions to be drawn from this proof are important. Tacitus has evidently used a speech found in a literary source, doubtless a history, as a basis for the speech he presents in the *Annals*. He has moreover made his speech agree closely in substance, in the main arguments advanced, with the speech of his source. Such a method of procedure seems hardly conceivable except on the supposition that Tacitus was in a position to know that his literary source gave in substance at least the speech as actually delivered in the senate. Tacitus knew as well as anyone that writers put purely fictitious speeches in the mouths of their characters. It is not likely that he would closely adhere to a literary speech whose genuineness he suspected. Did he perhaps have a reliable means of checking up his source? The *Acta Senatus* were at his disposal. To the problem here suggested I shall return in another connection.

One other instance of parallel between Tacitus and Suetonius must be noticed. It is particularly important because it is the sole passage of any length in the *Annals* quoted in the actual wording of the original. *Annals* VI, 6, and *Tiberius* 67, 1, both give the opening lines of a letter of Tiberius to the senate.²⁴ Now the passage quoted is of precisely the same length in both, and, with an unimportant exception,²⁵ of precisely the same wording. Both authors interpret the passage as showing that Tiberius felt that his deeds were a burden to his soul. The only reasonable conclusion to draw from these facts are that Suetonius copied Tacitus, or that both copied one and the same literary source. As Fabia believes, the quotation of exactly the same passage, no more no

²³ A common source is not to be rejected because Tacitus states that there was one imitator of Claudius, while Suetonius mentions two. One of the two was a freedman, and such an instance might very well "not count" with Tacitus.

²⁴ Suetonius introduces the quotation with: *Postremo semet ipse per-taeus tali epistulae principio tantum non summam malorum suorum professus*. Tacitus gives: *Insigne visum est earum Caesaris litterarum initium; nam his verbis exorsus est*.

²⁵ Tacitus has: *perire me cotidie*. Suetonius has; *cotidie perire*. The variation may be due to an error by Suetonius, or possibly Tacitus, or to a copyist's error in either work.

less, could hardly be a chance.²⁶ Furthermore Fabia believes that they both copy a common source.²⁷ But certainly Fabia can find nothing decisive in these passages taken by themselves to prove his point. He considers them an illustration of the fact that the writers do often use a common source.²⁸ He believes that Suetonius copies Tacitus.

It is known that Tacitus made it a rule to put in his own words speeches or remarks (and letters are in the same category) which he reported, and furthermore that he did not quote speeches already published.²⁹ If, then, he is here quoting a passage already brought before the public, he is disregarding his own rule. Now in Suetonius the passage in question is an isolated bit used along with other passages in one of his rubrics. It does not occur in a narrative. But in Tacitus it is a part of the narrative. Tacitus gives the circumstances under which it was written, and in chapter 5 he gives us the whole letter in substance and in indirect quotation.³⁰ By some means then he knew the whole letter. Did he find in a literary source part of the letter in substance, and only one sentence actually quoted? And did he then also give the letter in substance,

²⁶ Fabia, pp. 328-329. G. G. Ramsay, in his translation of the *Annals*, p. 366 and note, has failed to see this point. He thinks that "the letter must have been officially preserved, and that both writers had access to it." He would make a distinction between the comment of Suetonius and Tacitus, stating that Suetonius interprets the passage "as an expression of despair and helplessness"; but he has not noticed that chapter 66 and part of 67 are dealing with Tiberius' shameful deeds and crimes.

²⁷ Furneaux, in his note on this passage in the *Annals*, is in doubt about the relationship of Tacitus and Suetonius, and believes that Tacitus may have copied an earlier historian. Clason, *Tacitus Und Suetonius* (1870), p. 53, apparently takes the untenable position that Tacitus and Suetonius copy different sources. A. Kurti, *Zur Quellenfrage des Tacitus* (1910), p. 22, states that the quotation is not genuine. Since he offers no proof, his assertion deserves no further attention.

²⁸ Fabia believes that the expression *visum est* shows that Tacitus was quoting a literary work; that, if the quotation were independent, a *mihi* would have been added, or the verb be put in the present, *videtur*. This is slight proof. The expression might mean that it seemed so at the time. This is the view of G. G. Ramsay in his translation, p. 365. See A., XIII, 43: *brevius visum*, etc.; also H., I, 56: *id sacramentum inane visum*. Other references might be given. Possibly *mihi* is to be understood. See H., I, 4: *repetendum videtur qualis status*, etc.

²⁹ A., xv, 63 end; and 67.

³⁰ It is possible that the beginning of chapter 7 also belongs to this letter.

and also see fit to quote again the same quoted sentence? It may be noted further that in Tacitus' narrative there are no circumstances given which demand a literary work as source. It seems likely then that Tacitus used here a primary source, probably the *Acta Senatus*.²¹

In such case it is evident that Suetonius copied Tacitus, and evidently believed that Tacitus gave the actual wording of the letter. Suppose now that both copied a common literary source. It develops then that both believed that their source gave them Tiberius' actual words. Therefore in any case, whether Tacitus used here a literary source only, or a primary source, or a literary source plus a primary source, it seems certain that he has not made up the letter out of whole cloth.²²

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²¹ Just below this passage, in chapter 8, Tacitus may have used the *Acta*. This passage will be taken up later, in comparing Cassius Dio with Tacitus.

²² Of course there is the possibility that Tacitus invented the letter, and that Suetonius copied him. Against this supposition is the general belief that Tacitus can be trusted to be giving facts in a passage which he introduces and comments on as in this case. Then too Suetonius would very probably have had opportunity to check up Tacitus' statement, if he believed it necessary. It is unfortunate that it has never been proved decisively whether or not Suetonius used Tacitus for any kind of information. On *a priori* grounds one would expect that Suetonius would have used Tacitus, whom he must have known by reputation, and possibly personally through Pliny. Many passages in which their accounts are alike, but have a common source, have led some scholars to the conclusion that all accounts which are similar depend on common sources. Perhaps some of these passages indicate Suetonius' dependence on Tacitus. *Annals*, I, 6, and *Tiberius*, 22, contain statements for the most part word for word alike. The same is true of *Annals*, I, 72 end, and *Tiberius*, 58, 1. While it is quite probable that Tacitus would closely copy quoted remarks, it seems almost impossible that he would copy word for word such long statements of fact given by a literary source. On the other hand such copying might be expected of Suetonius in his patchwork biographies. The slight differences in the wording can not be explained better by assuming a common source. No such correspondences can be shown in passages where a common source was surely used. In the *Histories*, it must be admitted, correspondences in wording based on a common source can be found, though they are not so striking. For example *Histories*, I, 49, has expressions very like those of *Galba*, 20, 2; but Suetonius is independent of Tacitus.

Histories, II, 79, and *Vespasian*, 6, 3 present a remarkable likeness. One

expression particularly is significant. In Tacitus it reads: *exercitus . . . apud ipsum iurasset*. In Suetonius: *exercitus . . . apud ipsum iuravit*. Now the regular expression, classical and post-classical, is *iuro* with *in verba* and the genitive of the person concerned. This is also the regular expression of Tacitus and of Suetonius. See *Galba*, 11; 16; *Otho*, 8; *Vitellius*, 15. *Annals*, I, 7; *Histories*, I, 56; II, 16; IV, 60. In fact Suetonius has no other expression except once in *nomen suum*, *Claudius*, 10. Tacitus has *iurasse in eum*, *Histories*, I, 76; and *iuravere* alone, *Histories*, II, 81. The expression under consideration is then irregular, an irregularity which might well be original with Tacitus; but can not here have been so with Suetonius. He, in referring to this same occurrence in *Vitellius*, 15, 1, uses the regular expression: *pars in absentia, pars in praesentia Vespasiani verba iuravunt*, to indicate the presence of Vespasian when the oath was taken. If both writers were copying a common source it is reasonable to expect that one of them at least would have altered the unusual expression. The similarity here points to a copying of Tacitus by Suetonius.

On somewhat the same lines a comparison between *Histories*, I, 41, and *Galba*, 20, 1 may be made. Tacitus states: *plures (prodideres) obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum*. Suetonius: *plures autem prodiderunt optulisse ultro iugulum*. There are further likenesses, but especially striking is the use of *ultro* by both of them. The *obtulisse* gives the meaning without the additional adverb. Have both writers seen fit to take over this unessential word from a common source? Plutarch, *Galba*, 27 did not consider a corresponding adverb necessary. It seems likely that Suetonius copied Tacitus. Fabia, pp. 148-150, thinks that all three used one common source for this general section, because to some extent the citations are the same, and Plutarch and Suetonius both complete Tacitus' account at the same point. But this he over-emphasizes, and he fails to note that there are obvious differences in fact on the point about which they complement Tacitus' account.

In *Annals*, XIV, 16 Tacitus, writing of Nero's poetry, tells us that Nero had assistance in the composition of his poems. The opinion is evidently based on his source, and on his own acquaintance with Nero's poems. Now Suetonius knows of this opinion, he cites it, and absolutely contradicts it in *Nero*, 52: *nec, ut quidam putant, aliena pro suis edidit*. He goes further, as a writer well might do who is in possession of new evidence which will disprove a prevailing view of his time, to inform his readers that copies of Nero's poems in Nero's handwriting which have come into his hands, disprove the assertion that Nero was assisted and prove independent work. It looks very much as if he had Tacitus' account before him.

PINDAR, *O.*, VIII, 53 ff.

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The eighth Olympian ode contains a peculiarly obstinate passage, not yet satisfactorily explained: I mean that beginning at line 53, and forming a transition from the myth to the closing portion. Many scholars have declined to analyze it, on the ground that the peculiar abruptness in which the difficulty lies is sufficiently accounted for by assuming that the ode was hastily written to be sung at Olympia immediately after the victory. This assumption, initiated by Boeckh, has remained the orthodox view, championed by Christ, who regards the chief stumbling-block, line 53, as an inept piece of filling, and perpetuated of late by Sir John Sandys¹ and by Fraccaroli in his revised translation.² Elements for framing a correcter view have been in print for over twenty years; it is therefore worth while, by reviving and slightly extending them, to seek an interpretation which shall yield a coherent and intelligible train of thought.

Even if we grant that the ode was sung at Olympia, it is hard to see how the brief interval between the gaining of the victory and its celebration the same night could have sufficed for the composition of so long a piece and its preparation by a chorus. It is conceivable that an ambitious family, confident of the success of its member contending in the games, might proclaim that confidence by commissioning an ode in advance; but in that case it is undeniable that the poet might have received notice long enough ahead to allow him leisure for the task. Furthermore, the possibility of subsequent revision, which would remove blemishes distasteful alike to a conscientious poet and to patrons disposed to demand his best work, cannot be excluded. On either showing, the need for haste disappears. But was the ode really sung at Olympia? Drachmann's careful study³ has shown that we have no knowledge of any occasion on which an ode so extensive as the one under discussion could fittingly have been performed there. Its form, with four full

¹ *Pindar* (Loeb Classical Library), p. 82.

² *Pindaro, Le odi e i frammenti* (Milan, 1914), I, p. 309.

³ *Moderne Pindarfortolkning*, pp. 167 ff., especially pp. 174-6.

triads, is wholly unlike that of such short pieces (*P.*, vi, for instance) as we may with some degree of plausibility conjecture to have been sung at a feast on the evening of the victory. Its character suggests performance, if not in public, at least at a general gathering of the victor's clan; but an entire clan would scarcely assemble at Olympia for such a purpose when it could do so far more conveniently at home. Indeed, the only evidence for Olympia in the ode itself is the opening address to the sanctuary; but this, with its emphasis on the method of the oracle, would perhaps be more appropriate at a distance than on the spot. Moreover, the explicit phrases *τάνδ' Ἀλκιμῆα χώραν* (25) and *δεῦρο* (51) can refer only to Aegina; and since the ode must have been sung at one place or the other, it is reasonable to take these definite phrases at their face value, and to regard the opening invocation as addressed figuratively, especially since it blends the actual Olympia with its personification. Finally, the allusions to the victory seem to put it in the past, and are not such as would lead us to think of it as having been won only a few hours before.

If, then, the weight of evidence is against the supposition that the ode was sung at Olympia, the hypothesis of hasty composition is no more in point here than in the case of any other Pindaric ode, and we must accordingly see whether a train of thought can be discerned in the context which will explain the alleged careless ineptitude. Our starting-point is the recognition of the fact that the ode, though not written in haste, was composed under rather trying circumstances. As Mr. W. R. Paton has pointed out (*Classical Review*, iv, p. 318), Alcimedon, for whom the ode was written, had by his Olympic victory thrown into the shade the achievements of his elder brother Timosthenes at Nemea, and thereby aroused the latter's jealousy. Pindar seems to have been asked to say something in the ode which should mollify Timosthenes, a commission which he executes in lines 16 ff. Moreover, the poet felt himself, for reasons unknown to us, obliged to praise Alcimedon's trainer, Melesias, an Athenian, before a hostile Aeginetan audience. Both these necessities have a bearing on the passage under discussion.

. In lines 56 ff. we have a reference to two victories won by a person not named. It has often been supposed that they were won by Melesias, and that the mention of them constituted the arousing

of the envy that Pindar deprecates. In view of the fact that Melesias was an Athenian, and that the ode was written only four years before the conquest of Aegina by Athens, it is conceivable that any mention of him might have roused hostility. What further reasons for such hostility, as well as for Pindar's regarding the mention of Melesias as necessary, may have existed, we do not know. But if we follow Fritzsche (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1882, p. 145) in regarding these victories as won by Timosthenes under the training of Melesias, we can explain the allusions in a much simpler way. The victories of Timosthenes are mentioned in order to mollify him, though the mention is of course not made too explicit in an ode written primarily for another; while the fact that Timosthenes too is a pupil of Melesias makes the naming of the latter still more likely to rouse the envy that Pindar deprecates, but that he is determined to disregard. The *κῆδος ἐξ ἀγρεσιων* (54) is thus the glory that Melesias reaps from his success as a trainer, a success shown by the fact that Alcimedon's victory is the thirtieth that has been won by his pupils.

Fritzsche's interpretation of *τεπνὸν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἴσον ἔσεται οὐδέν* is less satisfactory. He rightly says that it must be a link between what precedes and what follows; but the only meaning he can find in it is the idea that a victor and a vanquished do not derive equal pleasure from the victory. So flat a notion can neither contribute to the train of thought nor facilitate the transition from the myth to the mention of Melesias. I therefore venture to suggest a new view, which will, I think, avoid these defects.

The preceding myth has dealt with Aeacus, so beloved of the gods that he was chosen as their helper when the walls of Troy were built, and, on the completion of the work, brought home by Poseidon in his own chariot. This was surely an exceptional honor for a mortal; often, when the gods took a mortal into their company, he remained there. When, in O., I, Pindar describes the carrying up to heaven of Pelops, who was returned to earth later, he adds an allusion to Ganymedes, who remained with them, as if to indicate the normal course in such matters. Aeacus, then, was favored beyond the common lot of mortals; but his good fortune could not be lasting, and Pindar adds the general observation, "Nothing among men remains equally (that is, uniformly) joyful." From this generality he passes to a more personal utterance:

"But if I have traversed⁴ in song the glory that Melesias has won through his pupils, let not envy smite me with a jagged stone"; that is to say, let not my pleasure on the present occasion be imperilled by my praise of Melesias, which I will continue by mentioning victories won by yet another of his pupils, Timosthenes.⁵

On this view the harshness which the ordinary interpretations find in this passage is removed. Pindar modulates, as it were, from the felicity of Aeacus through the generality that joy cannot be unvarying for mortals to his own deprecation of hostile criticism. The generality is thus rather more closely associated with what follows than with what precedes, and it accordingly becomes a question whether we should not, in line 53, read *γε* instead of *δέ* on the analogy of such a passage as *O. XII, 5*. In any case, the period which our texts have at the end of the line should be replaced by a colon, to mark the continuity of thought with the ensuing lines. We thus obtain an interpretation of the passage which yields a coherent train of thought; and the transition in line 53, though abrupt, cannot fairly be called inartistic.

Let me, in conclusion, suggest a slight emendation in another part of the ode. Line 47 reads in the manuscripts *Ἐδύθον ἤπειγεν καὶ Ἀμαζόνες εὐέσπρους καὶ ἐς Ἴστρον ἐλαύνων*. Why Xanthus should be coupled with the Amazons is not clear, and the sentence is stringy. But if we read *κατ' Ἀμαζόνες*, according to a frequent Pindaric construction, we have a parallel clause to *ἐς Ἴστρον*, and a smooth sentence. Apollo hastens to the neighboring Xanthus, and from there drives among the Amazons and to the Ister.

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⁴ May not the specific *ἀνδραμην*, instead of being, as Professor Gildersleeve thinks, "the objection of the cavillers dramatically put in the past," be a reference to the mention of Melesias in *N.*, iv, which probably preceded this ode, perhaps at no long interval? Various coincidences of phrase could be pointed out which suggest that the two odes do not belong far apart.

⁵ This, as Mr. Paton suggests, gives another reason for the opening invocation of Olympia, which is asked to accept this poem, though it also commemorates victories won elsewhere, to wit at Nemea, for *τολλὰ δέοι σὺν θεῶις εὐπαιγίας* (13-14).

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